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MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUCHESS DE TOURZEL.

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W. S. SNOW
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUCHESS DE TOURZEL,

GOVERNESS TO THE CHILDREN OF FRANCE DURING THE YEARS 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1795.

PUBLISHED BY THE DUKE DES CARS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUCHESS DE TOURZEL.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Memoirs which we now give to the public have not, up to this time, been published. For a very long time the numerous descendants of the Duchess de Tourzel, and the limited circle of friends to whom the existence of this precious MS. was known, earnestly pleaded for its publication; but neither the Duchess des Cars, the grand-daughter of the Duchess de Tourzel, into whose hands it came by will, nor after her the Duke des Cars, her son, thought that they ought to comply with this desire. The motives for such a refusal may be easily understood if one recalls in thought the troublous times described in these Memoirs. The entire generation which lived through the revolutionary period retained an impression of the terrible scenes it witnessed, the sad vividness of which not even old age could efface. When, later on, the police of Napoleon I. surrounded

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with a tenaciously odious vigilance those persons whose position and well-known attachment to the Royal family pointed them out for the secret distrust of the Emperor, the habits of circumspection they had contracted during their youth became their rule of conduct during their whole lives, and they handed down these feelings to their children, the sad witnesses of the anxieties, sometimes even the dangers, to which their parents and themselves were exposed.

At the present time these reasons no longer exist, and the moment seems propitious to restore to history a document, unique of its kind, which, by reason of its private nature, cannot be compared with any of those comprised in the rich collection of Memoirs relating to the French Revolution. As a matter of fact, all those who have written about that disastrous period played a more or less direct part in the drama which they describe, and they have therefore a natural and inevitable tendency to present facts from a preconceived point of view where their passions, and frequently their interests, impel them to place them. Even Madame Campan has not entirely freed herself from this reproach. In spite of the charm inspired by her touching and respectful attachment for the unfortunate Queen Marie Antoinette, there is here and there in her voice an echo, as it were, of wounded susceptibilities, like the anxious wail of her own personality, in painful contrast with the emotion of her reader. This impres-

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sion will be searched for in vain in the "Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse de Tourzel." Absolutely devoted to the duties of her office, her life, affections, and thoughts are exclusively concentrated on the august children from whom the massive walls of the Temple alone can separate her. During the most menacing hours of popular passion, when, on the 5th and 6th of October, the maddened mob invaded the Castle of Versailles; when, on the 20th of June 1792, the rising extended to the interior of the Tuileries; when, on the 10th of August, it had established itself triumphantly upon the ruins of the Monarchy, the Governess of the Children of France drew from her devotion to the Royal family strength enough to stiffle the holiest outcry of nature. One scarcely feels even a shudder of anxiety at the danger incurred by her beloved daughter, that charming Pauline de Tourzel, whose courage disarmed the butchers of La Force during the hideous massacres of September.

But if the personality of Madame de Tourzel does not obtrude itself in any part of these Memoirs, on every page there appears, as it were, a reflection of the two most august victims of the Revolutionary tragedy—King Louis XVI. and Queen Mary Antoinette—and this constitutes one of the principal attractions of these volumes.

The public, we hope, will take a lively interest in following throughout this authentic narrative the development of the terrible events and catastrophes which signalised the end of the last century; in it

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they will see the origin of those convulsions which, after having disorganised and overthrown entire society, still continue to trouble the age in which we live. The family of Madame de Tourzel will be rejoiced to perceive under what circumstances were revealed the courage, coolness, and devotion which acquired for the authoress of these Memoirs such fame among her contemporaries, and render her descendants so justly proud of their relationship to her.

Appointed Governess to the Children of France on the day after the taking of the Bastille, Madame de Tourzel—we may say it without fear—was the last and only confidante of the unfortunate Princes whom danger, by quickly untying the bonds of etiquette, allowed to indulge in their proclivities towards the tender outpourings of the heart and of friendship.

During this period of cruel agony through which Royalty passed, while a designedly insulting watch was established over the least movement and even the impressions of the King and Queen, and when La Fayette seemed to find a species of proud enjoyment in the humiliation which he inflicted on the Royal family, the unhappy Princes sought a momentary peace and forgetfulness of their sufferings in the apartments of Madame de Tourzel. There, far from godless eyes, they shed those bitter tears of which history, up to this time, has had a suspicion rather than a conviction, for when the doors were once more opened, the sublime duties of Royalty covered these noble and holy faces with the mask of super-

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human resignation. Madame de Tourzel was the only witness of their tears. Amid the painful outpourings of sorrow in her presence she obtained possession of the secret of that goodness which has occasionally been stigmatised as weakness, but which took its source in the most ardent love of France. And when after the lapse of many years, in retirement dictated both by circumstances and her inexhaustible sorrow, the Governess of the Children of France made up her mind to leave us the narrative of these direful events, she found her appreciation of them in her reminiscences of the supreme and painful confidence reposed in her. In this regard the Memoirs of Madame de Tourzel stand alone, and on this account we have no hesitation in looking upon them as a historical document of absolutely incomparable value.

Louise Elizabeth Félicité Armande Anne Marie Jeanne Joséphine de Croy-Havré was born in Paris on the 11th of June 1749. She was the fifth child and fourth daughter of Louis Ferdinand Joseph de Croy,[1] Duke d'Havré, Prince and Hereditary Marshal of the Holy Empire, Marquis de Vailly, Count de Fontenoy, Hereditary Chamberlain of Mons, Grandee of Spain, etc., who was killed in the battle of Filing-

[1] The Duke de Croy-Havré, the father of Madame de Tourzel, had three sisters—(1) Marie Louise Josephe, born on the 22d of February 1714, who married the Count de Tanse, a Piedmontese gentleman; (2) Marie Anne Charlotte, born on the 12th of May 1717, who married, on the 1st of April, 1737, Joachim Antoine Ximenès, Marquis d'Arizza, a Grandee of Spain; (3) Pauline Josephe, who became a nun.

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hausen in 1761; and of Marie Louise Cunégonde de Montmorency-Luxembourg.

The other children of the same marriage were Joseph Anne Auguste Maximilian de Croy, Duke d'Havré, who died in 1839, aged ninety-six; Marie Anne Christine Joséphine, Countess de Rougé, who died in Paris in 1788; Emmanuelle Louise Gabrielle Josephine Cunégonde, a nun of the Visitation; and Marie Charlotte Josephine Sabine, Marchioness de Vérac.

Louise Elizabeth Felicité, the youngest of this numerous family, married, on the 8th of April, 1764, Louis François du Bouchet de Sourches, first Marquis de Tourzel,[1] Grand Provost of France. Five children were born of this union — viz., four daughters: the Duchess de Charost,[2] the Countess Françoise de Sainte Aldegonde,[3] the Countess Louise de Sainte Aldegonde,[4] and the Countess de Béarn,[5]

[1] The Marquis de Tourzel was the son of Marguerite Henriette Desmaretz, daughter of Marshal de Maillebois; her father married as his first wife Charlotte Antoinette de Gontaut, daughter of Marshal de Biron; she died in 1740, leaving four children—(1) Ursule, born in 1754, who married Louis François René, Count de Virieu; (2) Judith, who in 1755 married Anne Joachim Annibal, Count de Rochemore; (3) Gabrielle Louise Geneviève; (4) Marie Louise.

The Marquis de Tourzel had a brother, the Count de Montsoreau, who had two daughters, one of whom married the Count de Blacas, and the other Count Auguste de la Ferronnays.

[2] Died without issue.

[3] She had a son, Camille, and a daughter, Virginie, afterwards Duchess de Mortemart.

[4] She had two daughters—Philippine, Countess d'Imécourt; Antoinette, Countess de Cossé; and a son, Charles de Sainte Aldegonde.

[5] She had a daughter, the Countess de Villefranche; and a son, Count Hector de Béarn.

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the authoress of "Souvenirs de Quarante Ans," wherein she drew such a touching picture of the massacres of September. This last-mentioned lady was not married when her mother was appointed Governess of the Children of France, and consequently accompanied her first of all to Versailles, and then to the Tuileries. Her discretion was such that the Queen, warned by Madame de Tourzel that her conversations with the King could be heard in the room occupied by her daughter, merely replied, "What does it matter? I have nothing to fear even if my most secret thoughts should fall in the heart of our dear Pauline."[1]

The fifth child of Madame de Tourzel was Charles Louis Yves du Bouchet de Sourches,[2] second Marquis de Tourzel and last Grand Provost of France.

[1] "Souvenirs de Quarante Ans." 1st Edition, 1861, p. 32.

[2] Charles Louis Yves du Bouchet de Sources had, by his marriage with Mdlle. Augustine de Pons, the last of her name, whom he married in 1796 (and who also left behind her some very interesting pages on the Reign of Terror), five children—Auguste, Duchess de Cars; Léonie, Duchess de Lorges; Helène, Countess d'Hunolstein; Roger, who died in infancy; and Olivier, Duke de Tourzel. The last-mentioned married Anastasia de Crussel d'Uzès, by whom he had a son who died at the age of eight. His father survived him only a short time, and at his death the papers of the Tourzel family, as well as the valuable souvenirs of the captivity of the royal family, passed into the hands of the Duchess des Cars, who died in 1870. The original MS. of these Memoirs thus became the property of the Duc des Cars, grandson of Madame de Tourzel. He also possesses the very interesting portrait which faces the title-page of this volume. This portrait, painted by the artist Konarski, by order of Queen Marie Antoinette, for the Governess of the Children of France, in token of gratitude for her devotion, was interrupted by the day of the 10th of August, and remained in the state in which the Revolution found it.

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On the accession of King Louis XVI., it seemed that a new era was about to shine on France; many families who had withdrawn from Versailles returned, attracted by the virtues and charms of which the young King and Queen Marie Antoinette were such graceful examples. The Marquis de Tourzel fulfilled his hereditary functions of Grand Provost with that austere exactitude which seemed to be an appanage of his race, and to which the "Memoirs of the Marquis de Sourches," now in course of publication, bear witness during the reign of Louis XVI. The Grand Provost of France accompanied the Court in all its wanderings. He was thus with the King at Fontainebleau in the month of November 1786, when his horse bolted under the trees while hunting, and fractured his skull against one of the branches. The emotion caused by this fatal accident was extreme. The King at once had the wounded man taken to a keeper's hut, where for a week he was attended by the Court doctors, who would not hear of his removal. Louis XVI., who, as Madame de Staël narrates, was moved to tears when he was informed of the catastrophe, and the Queen took care that the wounded man should want for nothing, displaying that affectionate and touching care with which they never ceased to surround those attached to them. The efforts of science were unfortunately of no avail, and after a week of dreadful agony M. de Tourzel expired. His widow, overwhelmed with grief, exclaimed, as she placed her son on the inani-

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mate body of his father, "I have lost all; I have only one hope left in the world, and it is that you may be as virtuous as the man whose corpse you are embracing." Such words at such a moment tell us more eloquently than any tradition could record, how happy had been the union so cruelly dissolved.

The King wished to confer on the child at once the post of Grand Provost of France. It was in vain pointed out to him that the young Marquis de Tourzel was not of age, an indispensable condition for the performance of such duties. "The Sourches are never minors," he replied, "and the death of M. de Tourzel affects me deeply. A good father, prudent, religious and faithful, he leaves behind him, though quite a young man, a spotless reputation, and all his affairs in good order; a wholesome lesson for so many others, who only leave evil behind them!" Such a funeral oration was at once an honour to him who inspired it, and to the Prince who was capable of thus appreciating the nobility of character of his servants.

The new Grand Provost of France showed himself, however, worthy of the royal favour, and we shall see in the course of these Memoirs with what courageous devotion he fulfilled, amid the greatest dangers, and to the very end, the duties which had devolved upon him under such solemn circumstances.

Madame de Tourzel went into retirement after this terrible accident. Entirely given up to her grief and the tender care with which she surrounded

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the childhood of her daughter Pauline, it seemed as if her life was at an end so far as this world was concerned, and as if she would never appear again in the brilliant circle where her virtues and noble qualities had won so much admiration.

God disposed otherwise.

Events marched quickly during the fateful years of 1787 and 1788. To the Court intrigues which led the Duke d'Orleans to tarnish the brilliancy of the royal majesty, had quickly succeeded the agitation of the Assembly of the Notables, to be followed by the more formidable movement of the States General. From one end of the kingdom to the other all minds were in a state of excitement; all the foundations of the Monarchy were uprooted at once, and the mob was already learning to repeat, now with threats, now with affection, the names of the new actors who were going to make their first appearance on the political stage. The Orleans faction, not daring to lay the blame directly on the King, and conscious, moreover, that the energetic character of the Queen would oppose the most serious obstacle to revolution, incessantly attacked that Princess, and calumniated in the most abominable manner all those whom she honoured with her friendship. In the first rank among those marked out for popular hatred was the Duchess de Polignac; and when the taking of the Bastille had shown the men of disorder that they could indulge with impunity in the wildest excess, this unhappy Queen perceived that she must separ-

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ate herself from the devoted friend to whom she had entrusted the care of her children. Madame de Polignac was therefore one of the first to emigrate, and she joined the Prince de Condé and the Count d'Artois at Turin. The post of Governess of the Children of France thus became vacant, but this post, which in other days had been a coveted honour, was, under present circumstances, merely a perilous post of sacrifice and devotion.

To fill such a post a person was required of determined character, incapable of wavering between danger and the performance of her duty, ready to unhesitatingly sacrifice her dearest affections in return for the royal confidence, and possessing a name respected by all, and consequently not calculated to arouse at the very outset the hateful prejudices of the public mind. Such a degree of self-negation, and such qualities altogether are invariably rare, but the Queen at once made choice of Madame de Tourzel, so indisputable and conspicuous were her merits.

There is no doubt but that she would have refused the honour if circumstances had allowed her to regard it as a favour. As it was, she hesitated considerably before she made up her mind to accept it, for she was fully conscious of the overwhelming responsibility of the duties to which she would henceforward have to devote herself. In the "Souvenirs de Quarante Ans," her daughter, the Countess de Béarn, thus describes this hesitation: "The struggle," she writes, "between her private affections and the remem-

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brance of the kindness shown to her by the King and Queen at the death of my father lasted for several days. But sympathy with the misfortunes of the Royal Family, and the sight of their abandonment by so many of those who had surrounded them, carried the day. She resigned herself to the sacrifice demanded from her; it was an expedient and a great good; some of the misfortunes hidden in the future could already be foreseen."

Madame de Tourzel was therefore appointed Governess of the Children of France, and the first time she saw the Queen in that capacity, she was greeted with one of those speeches in which the unhappy Marie Antoinnette knew so well how to express all the graceful delicacy of her heart. "Madame," she said to her, "I had entrusted my children to friendship; I now confide them to virtue."

At this juncture the Memoirs begin.

We will not allow ourselves even by the most modest analysis to encroach upon these moving pages, which include the last years of the old French Monarchy, the taking of the Bastille, and the end of the Reign of Terror.

After having been married eight years, the Queen had given birth to a daughter,—Marie Thérèse Charlotte, who was born at Versailles on the 19th of December 1778, and died in exile in 1854, after having experienced every grief and deception that human life can know. She was the heroic prisoner of the Temple, and afterwards Madame la Dauphine.

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Shortly after this event, which all France hailed with enthusiastic acclamations, the Queen had a miscarriage, and it was not until the 22d of October 1781 that the guns of the Invalides announced the birth of Louis Joseph Xavier François of France, mentioned in history as the first Dauphin. This young prince, whose robust health and precocious intelligence warranted the most legitimate expectations, suddenly became affected with rickets, and died at Meudon in the month of June 1789.

In 1783 the Queen had another miscarriage, and two years later she gave birth, on the 27th of March 1785, to Louis Charles of France, Duke of Normandy, who, after becoming Dauphin on the death of his brother, was the unfortunate Louis XVII.

Finally, on the 9th of July 1786, Sophie Hélène Beatrix was born, and she died on the 19th of the following June.

Consequently, out of this numerous family, there only remained two children — the Dauphin and Madame of France—when Madame de Tourzel was called upon to assume the charge of them imposed on her by the confidence of the King and Queen.

After the death of Robespierre, Madame de Tourzel, who, with her son and daughters, Pauline and the Duchess de Charost, had escaped the scaffold as if by a miracle, retired to her estate of Abondant, near Dreux. She remained there until the Restoration, lost in sad memories, dividing all her time between her veneration of the august victims whose latest

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confidante she had been, and the duties of incessant charity. There, under the secular shade of her lovely park, she had erected a modest expiatory tomb, on which may still be read the following touching inscription, dictated by herself:—

"QUID SUNT CINERES? HEU! CINIS IPSA DEEST!"

Alas! of all the greatness she had known, of all the noble martyrs whom she had loved, nothing remained! Their remains, hidden indiscriminately in the common ditch of Mousseaux and St Marguerite, or burnt in the quicklime of the Madaleine Cemetery, were no longer even there to receive the pious homage of a devotion which circumstances had raised to the level of heroism.

Not only did the King, the Queen, and the unfortunate Dauphin rest in these tombs which the Republic believed to be doomed to everlasting oblivion! The greatness of France, developed during so many centuries under the protection of the tutelary institutions of royalty, had also succumbed beneath the revolutionary tumult. The agony of these unhappy princes was also the agony of France, and every good Frenchman understood that these terrible events were bringing about the ruin of their country as well as the ruin of royalty. In fact, not even a subtle distinction had yet been established between France and the King; he who loved the one loved the other, he who died for his country died for his king, and he who died for his king died for his country.

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From the moment when the Revolution broke these sacred forces, disaster succeeded to disaster, catastrophe was heaped on catastrophe, and disorder at last was freely developed with more and more complete audacity; and so it will be until the day when disillusionised France shall understand that she must repair the broken chain of her secular traditions if she does not wish, after having been the first among civilised peoples, to become a sad example of the decay into which nations are dragged by reason of their abandonment of all great political and religious principles.

Madame de Tourzel consequently spent the last years of the eighteenth century at Abondant. The inhabitants of this little district had learned to respect her profound grief; they speedily came to revere her whom a spirit of well-doing alone could detach from her sad thoughts and the daily pilgrimage she made, escorted by a faithful servant, to the monument we have already mentioned. One day—the revolutionary orgie was not yet over—one of those bands of malefactors who were then ravaging the provinces wanted to cut down the magnificent trees in the park of Abondant, deeming them incompatible with the principles of liberty. The inhabitants with one accord prevented the misdeed and dispersed the scoundrels.

During the earliest days of the Restoration, King Louis XVIII., who had already attached Mdlle. de Tourzel, now Countess de Béarn, to the

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person of Madame la Dauphine, bethought him how he could reward the devotion which had been displayed by the Governess of the Children of France towards his unhappy parents. In 1816 he conferred on her the hereditary title of Duchess, which was destined to be too quickly extinct in the person of her grandson Oliver, Duke de Tourzel, whose son died in 1815. Lastly, on the 15th of May 1832, the Duchess de Tourzel in her turn ended that long career which had been overshadowed by so much grief; she was eighty-two years of age. Her body, transported to Abondant, was there buried in the church, and on the stone which covers her mortal remains was graven this epitaph, composed by the husband of her granddaughter, the Duke des Cars. In it he has comprised, admirably and as completely as possible, a life which was made up of tears, devotion, and charity:—

HIC JACET
L. E. F. F. A. M. J. DE CROY
DUCISSA DE TOURZEL
REGIAE SOBOLIS GUBERNATRIX
FORTIS IN ADVERSIS
DEO REGIQUE FIDELIS
VERE MATER PAUPERUM
PERTRANSIVIT BENEFACIENDO
OMNIBUS VENERANDA
MAGNO PROLIS AMORE DILECTA
OBIIT ANNO AETATIS 82
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.[1]

[1] The body is laid under the exterior wall of the church, in the cemetery by which it is surrounded, so that the good Duchess, as the

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The Memoirs we publish have been printed from the original MS. in the possession of the Duc des Cars. No alteration has been made in them, and a pious respect has watched over the minutest details of this publication, every note being in the handwriting of the author.

It only now remains for us to fulfil a last duty, and at one and the same time to satisfy truth and the formal wish of the Duchess de Tourzel.

The Marquis de Bouillé says, in his Memoirs, that the obstinacy of Madame de Tourzel in insisting on accompanying the Dauphin in his journey to Varennes prevented the King from taking in his carriage a distinguished military officer who, by his intervention, might have proved of the greatest service. Madame de Tourzel declares that the Queen alone informed her of the journey, and that nothing was ever said to her to lead her to suppose that there was any idea of replacing her by anybody. She was simply asked if her health would be any obstacle. "I should not have insisted," she says, in

inhabitants called her, rests in their midst. Here is the French inscription, as follows, the Latin one being in the church :—

ICI REPOSE
L. E. F. F. A. M. DE CROY
DUCHESSE DE TOURZEL
GOUVERNANTE DES ENFANTS DE FRANCE
COURAGEUSE DANS L'ADVERSITÉ
FIDÈLE A DIEU ET AU ROI
VERITABLE MÈRE DES PAUVRES
ELLE A PASSÉ EN FAISANT LE BIEN
VÉNERÉE DE TOUS
ARDEMMENT AIMÉE DE SES ENFANTS
ELLE MOURUT A L'AGE DE 82 ANS
QU'ELLE REPOSE EN PAIX.

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a note which she has left on this point, "if the Queen had evinced any such wish. Moreover, I could have taken the place of one of the maids who accompanied the Royal Family in the following carriage. In such a case attachment consults neither etiquette nor right, and I should have reconciled my duty of never leaving the Dauphin with the desire their Majesties might have expressed of being accompanied by a person whose services might have been of more use to them than mine."

The upright and courageous character of Madame de Tourzel would have enabled her to bear real wrongs, but these suppositious ones were very painful to her, and her family are at a loss to know how other authors could have repeated so unjust an attack.

"It seems," said one of her daughters, the Countess de Sainte Aldegonde, "that the testimony of so truthful a person, so conscientious, and so greatly esteemed, should carry far more weight than the Memoirs of M. de Bouillé; the latter, indeed, was under the necessity of finding reasons to soften the reproaches which were justly brought against him, whether personally on account of his own defective arrangements, or against his son, who appears to have been wanting in presence of mind and decision."

In regard, also, to another point, a constant preoccupation haunted the mind of Madame de Tourzel to the end of her life. It concerned her beloved

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pupil, the unfortunate Dauphin. The adventurers who on several occasions attempted to palm themselves off as Louis XVII., with few exceptions asserted that they had asked to be confronted with the Governess of the Children of France, but that the ill-will of the Royal Family had always caused their requests to be refused. Such a step would only have resulted in their imposture being unmasked. Madame de Tourzel was unwilling to lend herself to a manœuvre from which it might have been assumed that she was not convinced of the death of the young Prince, for, as a matter of fact, she had not waited for the tardy epoch when these claims were put forward to make inquiry of her own accord about the tragic end of the young King. Our readers will find her account of it at the end of the second volume of these Memoirs, and the character of Madame de Tourzel would never have lent itself to a fraud, whatever political considerations might be invoked to justify it, if the least doubt had existed in her mind as to the fate of the unhappy Prince. On the contrary, she was absolutely convinced of his death; the testimony of the doctors who made a *post-mortem* examination, whom she questioned immediately afterwards; the circumstantial details she found in a register where the doings of the Prince were entered day by day, which an almost providential accident allowed her to read on the occasion of a visit to Madame Royale, then a prisoner in the Temple; and, lastly, the precise

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information furnished to her by the venerable priest of St Marguerite, the beadle of which had witnessed the burial—all these united proofs left her no doubt about the matter. All the arguments based on the pretended silence of the Duchess de Tourzel are valueless, because we now publish the most formal declaration on this point, written by her own hand. She begins the recital of her proceedings by saying, "I break off my narrative concerning Madame for a moment to mention what I heard at the Temple concerning the young King, about whom I frequently spoke to Gomin and Lasne; and I will add to this account that of his death and of the precautions I took to assure myself of its reality, *of which I have not the least doubt.* It appears to me to be of use to furnish the proof of it to those who will read these Memoirs."

After having read the moving pages, in which the Duchess de Tourzel gives an account of her researches, it is evident that she has met the most rigorous objections of historical criticism. The death of the real Louis XVII. had become an absolute certainty in the mind of the noble woman who brought him up, and this certainty, as we know now, was equally shared by Madame la Dauphine, who for so many years cherished the hope of meeting her brother again. If, then, there survive any other impostors who are inclined to shield themselves under the evidence of the Duchess de Tourzel, they will discover in these pages a most categorical denial.

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The Duchess de Tourzel was careful to impart her thoughts on this subject to all the members of her family. "The young prince," she said, "was charming, and endowed with faculties which rendered him as lovable as possible. The Duchess d'Angoulême, his sister, was passionately fond of him, and did everything, as I did, to discover if he could have escaped the long and infernal martyrdom to which these monsters subjected him. It is only too certain that he did not survive the infamous treatment to which he was designedly exposed. Moreover, if he had survived, his body would have been wasted and his mind would have been unhinged."

LA FERRONAYS.

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CHAPTER I.

1789.

Sojourn at Versailles—The 5th and 6th of October—Establishment of the King at Paris—Continuation of the existing Excitement in the City—Conduct of the King in regard to the Parliaments of Rouen and Metz—Arrest of several Persons.

SUMMONED by my Sovereign to the honourable post of Governess of the Children of France, at the juncture when the Revolution was beginning to assume its most terrible character, I received the precious trust confided to me with the firm resolution to consecrate my life to the justification of the confidence reposed in me by their Majesties, and to prove to them the respectful attachment which I sincerely entertained for them.

Mgr. the Dauphin, who was four years old, was charming in appearance, and was gifted with astonishing intelligence, which developed year by year in a manner to warrant the most sanguine expectations, if the wickedness of men had not buried in the tomb so much grace, hope, and other qualities fitted for the worthy maintenance of the station in which Heaven had placed him.

As every eye was on the watch for Mgr. the Dauphin, the Queen requested me not to let him out

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of my sight for a moment, and to confine myself to a general supervision of Madame, who, being ten years of age, had to receive an education altogether different from that of her brother.

The love of the Queen for her children made her wish to be frequently with them; I had therefore the honour of being on very intimate terms with that noble and courageous Princess, and of appreciating her great qualities. To me it is an absolute necessity to narrate the virtues of my august and unfortunate Sovereigns, in order that I may offer up to their memory the homage of the attachment which I shall preserve for them to my latest breath.

So many sorrowful events have torn asunder my heart and saddened my spirit, that my memory has become enfeebled, and the frequent arrests to which I have been subjected, and the dangers through which I have passed having prevented me from preserving the notes I made, I can only set down the facts which come back most vividly to my recollection among the very striking events which I have had the misfortune to witness.

I took up my residence at Versailles in the beginning of August 1789. The King and Queen could not witness without alarm the disorganising decrees of the Assembly succeeding each other with frightful rapidity. The majority of the domestics of the Royal Family had been gained over by the factious spirits; they had become their spies, and gave a most exact account of everything that transpired, as

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well as of the persons admitted to the Royal circle, and the various impressions produced upon it. Other persons, who desired to preserve their political influence, as well as their attachment for their Majesties, infused continual anxiety into the minds of the latter under pretence of giving them an account of what was going on, thus hindering them from taking any definite line by perpetually placing before their eyes the inconvenience which would result therefrom.

In the month of September of this year the King, tired of his position, and unable to hide from himself the advantage which the rebels derived from his proximity to Paris, seriously thought of leaving Versailles. He wished, by withdrawing himself from the city, to remove all possibility of the realisation of the projects which the incendiary proposals of the Jacobins gave only too much reason to dread. Their Majesties, ever full of goodness, were kind enough to warn me to be in readiness to depart without any preparation, if circumstances should so require. They were not yet decided as to the place where they would settle, and I never knew it; but they soon changed their minds, and resolved on remaining at Versailles.

Nevertheless, the number of the victims multiplied, and crimes remained unpunished. The populace of Versailles meditated hanging an unfortunate baker, whose only crime in their eyes was that he made two sorts of bread. They pillaged his shop, and he was with difficulty rescued from their hands. Advantage

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was taken of this circumstance to impress upon the Municipality the necessity of increasing the repressive force, and Count d'Estaing, the commandant of the National Guard of Versailles, was consequently authorised to request a reinforcement of 1000 men of the regular army, and the Flanders regiment was ordered to Versailles.

The spirit of this regiment was at that time excellent, and so was that of the Chasseurs of Lorraine, who were then stationed at Meudon. These two corps, together with the Body Guard, were more than enough to enable the King to leave Versailles without the slightest difficulty, and if he had taken that step he might perhaps have avoided all the misfortunes which led him to his ruin.

The Body Guard, attached at heart to the Royal Family, and deeply regretting having allowed themselves to be induced to make unbecoming demands on the King, were ardently desirous of finding an opportunity of repairing their fault, and of giving proofs of the attachment which their heroic conduct so evidently proved. They resolved to employ every possible means to prevent the corruption of the Flanders regiment and to keep them faithful to the King, and they flattered themselves that they would succeed in this by inspiring them with esteem and confidence. They began by proposing a regimental dinner to them, to which they invited all the troops then in Versailles; and though the composition of the National Guard of the place gave them some un-

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easiness, it was none the less invited to the dinner, which was given in the Salle de la Comédie.

It was a superb affair, and each one of the guests testified such attachment to the King and the Royal Family, that his Majesty was asked to complete their wishes by honouring them with his presence. The arrival of the King, accompanied by the Queen and the Dauphin, had a wonderful effect. There was no need to command the shouts of "Long live the King, the Queen, the Dauphin, and the Royal Family;" they were heartfelt, and in them at that moment was recognised the heart of the French people. The emotion experienced by all those faithful to the King rendered the evening as touching as it was interesting. Heads and hearts were rendered so enthusiastic that his Majesty would have been accompanied by all these brave fellows whithersoever he might have wished to betake himself. Unfortunately, no advantage was taken of this state of mind, and the factious spirits, furious and anxious by reason of the sentiment still inspired by the person of the King, lost no time in gaining over the Flanders regiment, and inciting them to revolt.

At first they feigned the greatest anxiety in regard to the results of a banquet which, so they said, was only the prelude to a counter-revolution. They then succeeded in organising a movement sufficiently violent to compel the King to go to Paris and consummate more easily the execution of their designs. Although they still kept in the background, their project of deposing the King, and replacing him by the Duke

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d'Orleans, the violence of their abuse of their Sovereign, and the conduct of the Left of the Assembly, made the real wish of their hearts only too evident.

. . . . . .

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH OF OCTOBER, AND THE ARRIVAL IN PARIS.

When the leaders of the revolt had made the populace acquainted with the part they wished them to play, they assembled their auxiliary troops, composed of all the ruffians of the capital, and betook themselves, armed, to the Hôtel de Ville to complain of the scarcity of bread. It was, so they said, caused by the speculative purchases made by order of the Court, who wished by means of a famine to place them once more under the yoke of despotism. They compelled the Members of Commune to order M. de la Fayette to lead the National Guard to Versailles to compel the King to come to Paris, and to restore plenty to the capital by his presence. A troop of brigands, among whom were many men in feminine attire, and drunken fishwomen, who looked like veritable furies, preceded the National Guard, compelling everybody they met to follow them.

The King was out hunting, and had no idea of what was going on in Paris, when M. de la Devèze, a gentleman of Dauphiny, went and warned him of the approach of these bandits. The horses of Mgr. the Dauphin were harnessed to take him out, and it would have been easy for the Queen to have got into her

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carriage with Madame and have driven off to join the King. This idea unfortunately did not strike anybody, and the King, in a state of anxiety, returned at once to Versailles.

M. de Narbonne Fritzlard, who was at that moment beside the King, begged his Majesty to give him a few troops and some guns, assuring him that he would soon rid him of this band of robbers. "It is necessary," he said, "to hold the bridges of Sévres and Saint Cloud. They will either abandon their project or advance by Meudon. Stationed on the heights, I will open fire on them, and I will pursue them with the cavalry in their flight in such a way that not one of them will reach Paris." The King, who always hoped by kindness to recall the wandering spirits to himself, could not make up his mind to adopt a plan which would cause bloodshed among his subjects, and he placed no obstacle in the way of this army of brigands, incapable of any other feeling than those of rage and the hope of plunder.

M. de Saint-Priest, minister of the King's household, then advised his Majesty to leave Versailles, and he seemed disposed to follow this advice; but as the minister left him for a short time in order to take Madame de Saint-Priest, who was near her confinement, to the Abbey of Saint Cyr, M. Necker took advantage of his absence to infuse so much anxiety into the mind of the King in regard to the consequences of such a departure, and the impossibility of finding the money necessary for the subsistence of the troops and the

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household, that he made him alter his determination.

During this hesitation the brigands surrounded the railings of the castle, and hearing that orders had been given that they were not to be fired upon, they attacked the Body Guard, wounded very many of them, killed several, and overran Versailles. The National Guard of the place, who had joined them, commenced firing upon the Body Guard, and from their ranks came the bullet which broke the arm of M. de Savonnières, an officer of the Body Guard. The latter, quivering with grief and rage at not being able to defend themselves, nevertheless remained motionless; the fear of endangering the lives of the King and the Royal Family tied their hands, and it is impossible to find any record of devotion more heroic than theirs.

The King, deeply grieved by what was going on, seemed still to be thinking of leaving Versailles, and gave orders for his carriages to be brought round; but they were stopped by the very groom of his Majesty and the National Guard of Versailles, and there was an end to all question of departure. The King had ordered a portion of the Body Guard into the court-yard of the Castle, and subsequently on to the terrace of the Orangery, whence he sent them to Rambouillet under the command of the Duke de Guiche, only retaining those who were on duty within the Castle.

While the Castle was invested and the brigands were scouring the town, the Assembly occupied itself

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in procuring the sanction to its decree of the 30th of September, the acceptation of the first articles of the Constitution, and especially the declaration of the rights of man. It first of all resolved that the President should go at the head of a deputation to demand from the King the acceptance, pure and simple, of the decree. It would not listen to the representations of the King in regard to the inconvenience of giving his sanction to isolated decrees without having seen the entire Constitution; and although, in order to remove all distrust as to his intentions, he consented to give this sanction, his reservation of keeping the executive power entirely in his own hands and not expressing any opinion about the declaration of the rights of man until the Constitution should be completed, displeased the Assembly extremely. The latter, more intent on gaining its own ends than on the dangers incurred by the King and the Royal Family, insisted afresh on the acceptance, pure and simple, of the decree, and requested his Majesty to name the hour for his reception of the deputation which it would send to him on the subject. The King consented to receive it at nine o'clock in the evening. M. Mounier, President of the Assembly, was at its head, and believing that the safety of the King was inseparable from the sanction, he pressed him so earnestly to give it that the Prince could not refuse him. Full of hope in regard to the success of this proceeding, the President returned to the Assembly, and when he got there he perceived only too clearly the spirit by which it was animated,

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and he saw that its support could not be relied upon in the then critical state of things.

The King, whose position became more and more alarming every moment, having manifested his wish to consult the Assembly as to the line of conduct he should adopt amid so many dangers, M. Mounier, accompanied by several deputies, betook himself once more to the Prince just as the latter was informed of the arrival of M. de la Fayette at the head of the National Guard of Paris. The General went at once into the King's presence, and told him that as he had not been able to prevent the arrival of the Parisians at Versailles, he had come to defend him with his National Guard, and he begged his Majesty to be good enough to entrust to him the guard of the outside posts of the castle. The King consented, and the National Guard relieved the Body Guard, who remained in their rooms inside the castle.

The fishwomen loudly demanded audience of the King in order to convey to him the wish of the inhabitants of Paris, and they were only quieted by admission being granted to a dozen of them. The kindness of the King disarmed them, and their opinions had undergone such a change by the time they returned to their companions that they well-nigh fell victims to the fury of the latter.

The King then said to M. Mounier that, taking into consideration the actual state of things, he had no further advice to ask, but that he would never separate from the National Assembly. M. Mounier

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returned thither at once, and found the hall occupied by a multitude of drunken women and bandits. There was such a disturbance that he was compelled to suspend the sitting.

The Queen during this day gave evidence of that grandeur of soul and courage which had always characterised her. Her countenance was noble and dignified; her face was calm; and though she could not deceive herself in regard to all she had to fear, nobody could perceive the slightest trace of anxiety. She reassured everybody, thought of everything, and occupied herself much more with those who were dear to her than with her own personal safety.

This Princess had agreed with me that on the least noise I was to bring her children to her; but at eleven o'clock at night she sent word to me that if there should be any cause for anxiety, I should, on the contrary, take them at once to the King. She had just been warned of the personal danger she might run in her own suite of rooms, and had been entreated to spend the night in those of the King, but she refused positively. "I would rather," she said, "expose myself to danger, if any has to be incurred, and remove it from the person of the King and my children." This was the motive of the alteration in the order which had in the first instance been given to me.

Quiet succeeded to tumult, and M. de la Fayette, who had returned to the town, relied so entirely on this apparent tranquillity that he came to the Castle

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again to assure the King and Queen that there was nothing to fear, various persons despatched to the town having confirmed the accounts of the tranquillity prevailing there. At two A.M. the Queen sent word to me that she was going to bed, and would advise me to do the same. The alarm that had been experienced was dissipated. The illusion was complete, and everybody retired in peace.

The brigands did not sleep, but, being sure of the National Guard of Versailles, they were engaged in carrying out their own designs. A tinge of superstition intermingled with their barbarity, which one could scarcely credit, led them, at six o'clock in the morning, to visit the priest of Saint Louis, in whose parish they had passed the night, to request him to say mass for them. Scarcely was it over than one portion of the horde spread themselves through the town, forced their way into the barracks of the Body Guard, and massacred everybody they found there, except a few whom they took to the Castle gates in order to deliberate as to the punishment they should inflict on them. The other portion forced the gates, and rushed through the courtyards and terraces on the side of the garden with the idea of gaining an entrance into the Castle. These ruffians, who encountered no obstacle, killed two of the Body Guard who were on guard over the apartments of the King's aunts, and had their heads cut off by a monster in the gang, who called himself

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Coupe-tête.[1] They then went up the grand staircase direct to the apartments of the King. The Body Guard, though few in number, defended the entrance with the greatest bravery; several of them were dangerously wounded, among others MM. de Beaurepaire and de Sainte Marie, but they had fortunately time enough to shout, "Save the Queen."[2] Madame Thibaut, her first lady-in-waiting, who luckily had not gone to bed, had only time to give her a dress, and make her take refuge with the King. Hardly had her Majesty left the room than these wretches forced their way in, and, furious at not finding her there, they stabbed the bed with their pikes, so as to leave no room for doubt as to the crime they intended to commit.

While this horrible scene was taking place, M. de Sainte Aulaire, Brigadier of the Body Guard, and on duty near the person of the Dauphin, entered the young Prince's room, and warned me that the Castle was invested. I rose in haste and immediately took

[1] This wretch was called Jourdan, and figured in the various scenes of carnage during the Revolution, and especially in the massacres of Avignon, as we shall recount in their proper place.

[2] M. Miomendre de Saint Marie died in exile, and I never saw him after that horrible day. M. de Beaurepaire came to pay his respects to the King and Queen as often as he could without danger. The Dauphin wished to see him in my rooms, and sent to ask him to come there as soon as he knew he was in Paris. He threw himself in his arms, embraced him, and said to him, "How grateful I am to you for having saved mamma." Then, turning to me, the amiable child said, "Madame, I beg of you to give him some dinner; I am coming down soon, and shall see him for a longer time."

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the Dauphin to the King, who was then with the Queen. The danger she had just run had not diminished her courage; her face was sad but calm. As she did not see Madame with me—for I had not had time to warn her—she went down to her room by a small interior staircase which communicated with it through my rooms, and seeing my daughters, who had spent the night there, she tranquillised them, told them to go to the King, and led Madame there with a firmness and dignity truly remarkable at such a moment.

The apartments of the King had not yet been broken into. The men of the Body Guard arranged between themselves to defend, one after the other, each room of the suite where a single one of them might be, the others falling back room by room to that where the Royal Family were; and with the greatest courage they awaited the death which they believed to be inevitable. M. de la Fayette, whom his own neglect had placed in the most fearful position, at this juncture made the greatest efforts to induce the National Guard to defend the King and rescue the Body Guard. The Grenadiers undertook to do so, and therefore knocked at the door of the room occupied by the Body Guard, calling out that they had come as friends to defend them and save the King.

M. de Chavannes, Brigadier of the Body Guard, then said to his comrades, "My friends, one of us must go to them to ascertain if they are speaking the

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truth, and that one shall be myself. All of you withdraw to defend the other rooms, in case we have nothing good to expect." He was a very tall man, with a splendid figure. He opened the door to them, putting his hat proudly on his head, and saying, "Are you come to assassinate us or to defend the King?" They shouted in reply, "Long live the King! We are come to defend him and you too."

The King, deeply grieved at seeing his Guards butchered by the multitude of ruffians who were thronging the courtyards of the Castle, showed himself at his window to ask the people to save their lives. The Body Guard, who at that moment were close to the King, threw out their cross-belts to appease the fury, and shouted, "Long live the nation!" This proceeding on the part of the King touched the hearts of these human tigers; they embraced the men they were going to butcher, and invited those who were near his Majesty to come down also to be embraced.

The Royal Family, as well as all who were living in the Castle, betook themselves to the apartments of the King. Each one was a prey to consternation in regard to what was going on, and in a state of the greatest uneasiness as to the consequences of the catastrophe. The Queen, invariably great in misfortune, sought to reassure the terrified members of the household.

During this time the Assembly, instead of pay-

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ing attention to the danger incurred by the King and his family, contented itself with decreeing that it would not withdraw from them pending the whole of the actual sitting.

The people, however, never lost sight of the object of their undertaking. They demanded aloud that the King should take up his abode in Paris, and M. de la Fayette sent message after message to induce him to do so. The King, alarmed by what was transpiring, pressed and entreated on all sides, at last gave way; and in spite of his repugnance to take up his residence in the city, he gave his word that he would set out at noon. This promise won for him the cheers of the crowd, and the thunder of cannon and the rattle of musketry were speedily heard in response. The King appeared a second time on the balcony to confirm his promise, and the enthusiasm of the mob rose to its greatest height. The Body Guard who had been destined to slaughter were seized upon and compelled to wear the head-gear of Grenadiers. The brave fellows consented to join with the latter in order to escort the unhappy Royal Family, and I noticed several of them following the carriage of the King on foot, far more concerned for the misfortunes of their Sovereign than for their own position.

The fishwomen still thronged the courtyards of the Castle in large numbers, singing, dancing, and indulging in the most boisterous and indecent transports of rejoicing. The marble court, on to which

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the windows of the King's rooms opened, was filled with these women, who, intoxicated with their success, demanded to see the Queen. The Princess appeared on the balcony, holding the Dauphin and Madame by the hand. The whole multitude, regarding her with furious looks, shouted, "Send away the children." The Queen sent them in and returned alone. Her air of grandeur and heroic courage in the presence of danger which made everybody quail, had such an effect on the mob that they at once abandoned their sinister designs, and, struck with admiration, exclaimed, "Long live the Queen!" It was noticed, as a singular circumstance, that all these women had clear complexions and white teeth, and wore finer linen than such women are accustomed to wear—an evident proof that among them there were very many who were paid to play their part in this horrible day.

The King got into his carriage at half-past one, regretfully leaving the Palace he was destined never to see again. He sat on the back seat of the carriage with the Queen. I occupied the front seat, with Mgr. the Dauphin on my knees and Madame beside us. Monsieur and Madame Elizabeth were near the door; M. de la Fayette, Commandant of the National Guard of Paris, and M. d'Estaing, Commandant of the Guard of Versailles (the same who, instead of defending the King, had given him up in so cowardly a manner to the ruffians who came to attack him), rode by the doors near their Majesties. What a

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contrast between their conduct and that of their ancestors! What would have been the grief and indignation of the latter could they have foreseen that their descendants, instead of imitating them, would one day so demean themselves as to hand over their King to a mob in revolt, who would compel them slavishly to obey its will and caprice!

A large number of the inhabitants of the town of Versailles, worked upon by the leaders of the Revolution, had adopted its principles; and although they had everything to lose by the establishment of the King in Paris, they evinced the greatest joy at his departure. The populace assembled in the avenue; one portion followed the Royal carriages, and another swarmed on the roofs of the houses, all of them clapping their hands, and shouting, "Long live the nation!" thereby applauding what ought to have covered them with shame and confusion.

Mirabeau, who had opposed the motion to despatch deputies to be near the King in the hour of danger, decreed that a hundred of them should accompany his Majesty to Paris, and he had the audacity to emerge from their midst in order to look fixedly at him as he passed in front of the National Assembly.

The *cortège* of the unfortunate King was worthy of this frightful day. At the head of it marched the bulk of the Parisian troops, each soldier carrying a loaf of bread on the end of his bayonet. They were escorted by a rabid mob, who carried on their pikes

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the heads of the unfortunate members of the Body Guard who had been massacred by them.[1] Following them came wagons filled with sacks of corn, and fishwomen decorated with garlands of leaves, each one carrying a loaf in her hand. The entire multitude incessantly repeated the mournful cry, "Long live the nation!" the prelude to all the horrors that were perpetrated during the Revolution. The National Guard, among whom were mingled the faithful Body Guard, escorted the King's carriage, which went at a walk.

The King and Queen spoke with their customary kindness to those who surrounded their carriage; they represented to them how mistaken they were in regard to their real sentiments. "The King," said the Princess to them, "has ever been desirous only of the happiness of his people. Much evil has been spoken of us by those who would injure you. We love the entire French nation, and it is our glory to share the sentiments of our good King." Several of them appeared touched by so much goodness, and said simply, "We do not know you; we have been greatly deceived."

At Sèvres a small packet was thrown into the King's carriage, and fell on my knees. "Put it in

[1] The two members of the Body Guard who were killed at Versailles on the morning of the 6th of October, and whose heads were carried on pikes, were MM. des Huttes and Varicourt. The latter was a brother of a priest of Gex, a deputy of the National Assembly, who behaved very well, and of Madame de Vilette, whom Voltaire called pretty and good.

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your pocket," said the King to me, "and open it when we arrive." It fell in the carriage; I never heard what it contained, but I imagined, and not without good reason, that it was something horrible, and calculated to wound the hearts of the unhappy Royal Family.

The Flanders Regiment formed line along the road from Auteuil to Paris; it then shared in the sentiments of the mob, and all the soldiers shouted with them, "Long live the nation! Down with the shavelings!"—the everlasting refrain of all the multitude who thronged the roads. All of them, one-half being drunk, were incessantly firing off their guns. By great good luck no accident happened.

The Duke d'Orleans was on the Passy road, and his children, with Madame de Genlis, on the balcony of the house which he had hired. He had stationed them there so that they might enjoy at their ease the spectacle of the abasement of the royal family, a proceeding which was the subject of much comment. The Queen mentioned it as a matter of history to the Duchess d'Orleans, who sighed, but could make no reply. This excellent Princess was far from sharing the sentiments of the Duke, her husband. She shut her eyes to his proceedings, and she was utterly unhappy when the illusion vanished and she could not help perceiving the active part he was taking in this frightful Revolution.

On arriving at the Chaillot gate, M. Bailly, Mayor of Paris, appeared to present the keys of the

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city to the King, and to address his Majesty. He commenced with his customary phrase, "*What a glorious day* is this, Sire, on which the Parisians are going to have your Majesty and your family in their city!" At the words *a glorious day*, the King sighed, and replied to M. Bailly, "I hope and ardently desire that my residence in it may bring peace, concord, and submission to the law." How could M. Bailly have allowed himself to apply the term *glorious day* to that on which it was intended that the massacre of the Queen should take place, and on which the King had seen the blood of his faithful servants flow, while he himself had been overwhelmed with insult? Notwithstanding his advantages of mind and education, M. Bailly had not the slightest idea of the fitness of things, and of this he gave ample proof on every occasion when he was brought into actual relationship with the royal family. The King had intended reaching the Tuileries in the evening, but M. Bailly begged him to alight at the Hôtel de Ville, where all the Commune was assembled, and to honour it with his presence. The King declined, saying, "that he and his family stood in too great need of rest to prolong the fatigues of such a day." The Mayor persisted, and M. de la Fayette made such a point of it, and was so urgent, that the King, in spite of his repugnance, was compelled to give way.

During the journey M. de la Fayette approached the carriage of his Majesty several times, assuring

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him that he would be satisfied with the manner in which he would be received in the capital. The streets were illuminated, and incessant shouts of "Long live the King," accompanied his Majesty from his appearance in the Rue Saint Honoré as far as the Hôtel de Ville. They were more noisy than hearty, and in them a certain amount of violence, painful to hear, was perceptible.

When he reached the Place de Grève, the crowd was so considerable that the King, to avoid accident, got out of his carriage together with the royal family; and it was with great difficulty that a passage was made for them through the mob to enable them to reach the Hôtel de Ville. M. Bailly made another speech to the King, to which the latter replied with his usual kindness. I was so occupied with Mgr. the Dauphin, who was worn out with fatigue and was fast asleep in my arms, that I heard neither the one nor the other. The Duke de Liancourt, who accompanied the King, begged him to renew his promise to declare himself inseparable from the Nationale Assembly. The unhappy Prince, who was in the sad position of being unable to refuse anything, acquiesced in this request, and repeated shouts of "Long live the King!" at last brought the sitting to a close.

The King and the royal family returned sorrowfully to the Tuileries, and found their faithful servants, who were a prey to the greatest anxiety, awaiting their return. No preparations had been made for their reception. Mgr. the Dauphin passed the night with-

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out a guard of any kind, in a room open on all sides, and with doors that could scarcely be shut. I barricaded them with the scanty furniture at my disposal, and spent the night seated by his bedside, plunged in sorrow and sad reflections as I thought of what, after all that had happened, might be expected of a people capable of being carried away to such terrible excess.

The awakening of the royal family was frightful. The courtyards and terraces of the Tuileries were filled with an innumerable crowd of people, who loudly demanded to see the King and the royal family, some for the pleasure of enjoying the fruits of their victory, the majority merely out of curiosity, and a few from a feeling of interest and attachment. The royal family, including even the Princesses, were obliged to wear the national cockade and show themselves to the people more than once in a room on the ground floor, which opened on to the courtyard, and was occupied by Madame Elizabeth. Each time she appeared there were shouts of "Long live the King and the royal family!"

So the day passed. The crowd, which was incessantly renewed, only left the Castle at night to return in the morning. This was illuminated during the first few days after the arrival of the King, in order more easily to guard against the sinister designs that were suspected.

The factious spirits, in the hope of rousing the populace, sent to the Pont Royal, opposite the windows of Mgr. the Dauphin, wagons filled with flour,

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said to be damaged, which the market porters and fishwomen threw into the river. As this spectacle did not produce the least impression, the wagons went away and did not come back again.

Another device was invented to turn the people against the Queen. Two days after her arrival, measures were taken to instigate abandoned women to go to her and demand the release from the Mont-de-Piété of all the articles which poverty had compelled them to pawn. The terrace of the Tuileries was covered with women, who were thronged together to the verge of suffocation, and who demanded speech with the Queen. The persons who were with her at that moment entreated her to accede to this request. I dissuaded her from it, representing to her the danger of compromising her dignity by lending herself to the caprices of the multitude, and I advised her merely to reply that she was considering the best mode of being useful to them. Everybody was in such a state of alarm, that nobody dared undertake the commission. I offered to speak to the women myself, together with the Princess de Chimay, her lady-in-waiting.[1] She consented, and from the rooms of the Princess, which opened on to the terrace of the Tuileries, we harangued the multi-

[1] The Princess de Chimay, daughter of Marshal de Fitz-James, was a lady of genuine merit. Her distinguished conduct, her sweetness, and her virtue caused her to be generally loved and esteemed; and when she left the Court, she was regretted not only by society, but also by all those who had been brought into contact with her by reason of the post she held.

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tude. We told them that although all unfortunate people had great claims on the heart of the Queen, she could not enter into engagements without knowing their extent, but that every reliance might be placed on her benevolence and goodness. This assurance satisfied them; the meeting dispersed, and everyone went away quietly. A few days afterwards, the King authorised the Queen to redeem from pawn all articles not exceeding a louis in value.

The same crowd and the same eagerness to see the royal family continued for several days. This indiscretion was carried so far that several fishwomen invaded the apartments of Madame Elizabeth. She begged the King to assign other rooms to her, and she even afterwards had an invincible dislike to her former abode. The people were at last sent away, and the King and Queen were enabled to remain in their apartments in peace.

Prisoners in Paris, and surrounded by the suspicious and defiant National Guard, in whom this attitude was fostered by those who so cleverly made use of them for the carrying out of their designs, the King and Queen saw with the greatest sorrow the necessity of sending away the Body Guard, who would have been in danger had they been retained in personal attendance on the royal family. Wandering about in the Tuileries, and watched by the National Guard, who looked with distrust on all who spoke to them, their position

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was dreadful. The King thanked them for their services, and sent word to them that he hoped for happier days, which would allow him once more to surround himself with such faithful servants, whose courage and devotion he should never forget. The National Guard, who replaced them in attendance on the King and the royal family, did not know what they ought to do. The good men and true, who had joined their ranks out of attachment to the King, groaned over their enforced silence; and the rebels, and those who had been led astray, triumphed over the abasement of the royal family and the grief of those who had preserved for it that fidelity which is the right of Sovereigns.

The King, who wished to have his children with him, shared his room with Mgr. the Dauphin, and took for him the small rooms communicating with the apartments of the Queen. This Princess occupied the ground floor opening on to the terrace of the Tuileries, and having given Madame, her daughter, the room on the entresol above the King's chamber, which were her own private apartments, she made use of others above his offices, and the apartments of the first gentleman of the bedchamber. In addition to this arrangement, small private staircases were constructed, so that the King and Queen could communicate freely between their own rooms and those of the Dauphin and Madame.

Madame Elizabeth occupied the Pavilion of Flora, and Monsieur and Madame went to take up their

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abode in the Luxembourg. They came every day to sup with the King, who no longer dined in public, but in private with the royal family, with the exception of Mgr. the Dauphin, who, being very young, dined in his own room in the middle of the day.

Subsequently the organisation of the National Guard was completed. Besides a Commandant, it had a Major, two assistant Majors, six Chiefs of Division, and sixty battalions, one for each district, each of which had a commander called the Commandant de Bataillon, and under him captains, lieutenants, etc. There were two guns to each battalion, and gunners to serve them.

M. de Gouvion, the Major of the Guard, who was in the confidence of M. de la Fayette, was a good officer, and although imbued with the new opinions, he was still at heart attached to the person of the King. He was possessed of courage and firmness, and I have always been convinced that much good might have resulted, had more confidence been reposed in him, and had efforts been made to recall him to his duty.

The six Chiefs of Division, who were taken from another class than that of the people, were MM. d'Ormesson, Pinon, de Courtomer, de Saint-Christot, Maudac, and Charton.

M. d'Ormesson, once Controller-General of the Finances, was too well known to need anything being said about him. And I may say the same

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of M. Pinon, President of a Court of Justice, and of the Marquis de Courtomer.

M. de Saint-Christot, formerly a *fermier-général*, was an excellent man, and entirely attached to the King. So, also, was M. Maudac, a rich financier, but his character was weak, and he had but little capacity.

M. Charton, formerly a man of business, whose principles were constitutional, enjoyed a good reputation and had an excellent address. From being so constantly with the King he conceived a genuine affection for him, and he never ceased to give proof of it. These three last mentioned perished during the Revolution, victims to their devotion to his Majesty.

The King, when he went out, even to hear mass in the chapel, was invariably attended by a Chief of Division. The Queen and Mgr. the Dauphin had only Commandants de Bataillon, and the rest of the family had captains.

The Commandants de Bataillon were, as a rule, tolerable, although among them there were some bad ones, such as Santerre and several others as worthless as he. A certain number had only accepted the post through attachment to the King and in the hope of being useful—such as M. d'Ogny, Postmaster-General; M. Gauthier, Administrator-General; MM. de Tourceval, formerly *fermiers-généraux*; and several others. Among them also were some good citizens, large merchants, such as the good Acloque, the brewer of the Faubourg Saint Marceau,

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M. S. SNOW.

the very opposite in honesty and fidelity to the wretch Santerre, the brewer of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, whose name will never be uttered except with horror and indignation.

Each battalion was on guard in the Castle for twenty-four hours, and was relieved by another at the expiration of that time. Each Commandant on duty with the King, the Queen, and Mgr. the Dauphin, presented himself on his arrival for orders, in case they wished to go out, and the captains did the same in regard to the other members of the Royal Family. The majority were respectful; but some of them, forgetful of the respect they owed their Sovereigns, and intoxicated by their rank, assumed a tone of familiarity which was anything but a pleasant sight. Among others, there was one named Gerdret, lace merchant to the Queen, who had the audacity to propose to her on her arrival in Paris that he should bring some of the band of the National Guard to give her a concert. "I am astonished," said the Queen to him, "that you, Gerdret, should think of making such a proposition to me at such a moment." The matter was never mentioned again.

The King still retained some of his faithful servants, who occupied responsible posts near his person, such as the four chief gentlemen of the bedchamber, the captain of the Cent-Suisses of his Guard, the Grand Provost of France, and the Grand Quartermaster of Cavalry.

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The Duke de Richelieu, father of the present Duke, first gentleman of the bedchamber, was anxious to perform the duties of his office on the arrival of the King in Paris; but as he was in a dying state, he was compelled to allow himself to be replaced by the Duke de Villequier, who performed, in addition to these duties, those of the Duke de Fleury, who was still too young to perform his own. The Duke de Villequier never varied either in his conduct or his attachment to the King. He gave him excellent advice, full of wisdom and firmness, and he would never have abandoned him if the rebels had not compelled the King to send him away.

The young Marquis de Duras, afterwards Duke de Duras, who had just been appointed a first gentleman of the bedchamber on the death of Marshal de Duras, his grandfather, influenced by a sense of duty and gratitude for the goodness of the King, did not leave him until 1791, when he received the express order of the King to quit the Tuileries and France, where he could no longer reside in safety.

The Duke de Brissac, Commandant of the Cent-Suisses of the King's Guard, was brave, loyal, and a true French knight. He gave evidence of the utmost attachment to the King; he was constantly by his side up to the moment when, after the suppression of the Constitutional Guard of the King, the Legislative Assembly formally accused him and sent him to the prison of Orleans, whence he was

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brought to Paris after the days of the 2d and 3d of September. He was massacred when he reached Versailles, a victim of his own zeal and attachment to the King.[1]

The Marquis de Tourzel, my son, the Grand Provost of France, never left the King for a moment. Always by his side when the danger was greatest, he never ceased to give him proofs of unalterable fidelity, and he did not leave him until the too good and unfortunate Prince was taken to the Temple. He employed every possible means to obtain permission to stay near him, but in spite of his reiterated efforts, supported even by the personal request of the King, he could not succeed in being imprisoned with him.

The Marquis de la Suze, Grand Quartermaster of Cavalry, continued to perform his duties for a considerable time. His devotion never wavered for an instant.

The Marquis de Brézé, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, was ever faithful to his duties and pro-

[1] It was not at Paris, but on reaching the streets of Versailles, and in a place called the Quatre Bornes, that the Duke de Brissac and the other prisoners from Orleans were massacred. This town, which behaved well, more than once gave M. de Brissac the means of escaping from his prison; but he invariably refused lest he should compromise our unhappy Sovereign. These offers were renewed when the imprisonment of the King in the Temple deprived his escape of all possibility of complication. But, imbued with the fear of increasing the rage of the enemies of his Majesty, he preferred to expose himself to dangers to which he was fully alive, and he died with courage worthy of his name and with firmness only too uncommon.

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foundly attached to the King. Although deprived of the duties of his office, he remained near the King, followed him to Feuillants, where he passed the night of the 10th of August, and only left him when those who accompanied him were violently separated from him.

The King had also retained near him some faithful servants, whose services he thoroughly appreciated, among others MM. Thierry and Chamilli, two of his chief valets-de-chambre, who on every occasion gave him proofs of a devotion which resulted in both of them falling victims to it.

The *corps* of Ushers of the Bedchamber also remained unalterably faithful. Several others imitated their example, and the good Prince said to me one day, in speaking of those on whom he could rely, "I need look at those which have remained faithful to me, by way of consoling my afflicted heart."

I hope this digression may not be considered out of place. After the recital of so many horrors, I had need of resting my mind for a moment on more consolatory reminiscences, and of showing to those who may read these Memoirs, that there were still French hearts which would have risked their lives a thousand times for the preservation of their Sovereign.

M. de la Fayette would have liked the King to go out, but as he could only be attended by the National Guard, he preferred to deprive himself of

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fresh air and all exercise, rather than allow it to be supposed that he had voluntarily given up his faithful Body Guard, and he remained for a long time without leaving his apartments. The walks of the Queen and her children were confined to the garden of the Tuileries, where a little path, surrounded by trellis work, had been made as a private walk for Mgr. the Dauphin, who went there, accompanied by a Commandant de Bataillon and four soldiers of the National Guard.

This young Prince, extremely forward for his age, frequently asked me the reason of his change of locality, and said to me, "I see quite well that there are wicked people who trouble papa, and I regret our good Body Guard, whom I loved much better than these Guards, for whom I do not care in the least." I told him that the King and Queen would be very angry if he did not behave well to the National Guard, and if he spoke before them of his desire to see the Body Guard again; that he must always love the latter, but never talk of them except privately; and that he must hope for happier times, which would allow the King to summon them once more to his side. "You are right," he said; and from that moment he never mentioned them openly. His memory was remarkable. And he had such a mind, so singularly penetrative, that from the time he was four years old, he made the most correct reflections on all that he saw and heard.

He had, as tutor, the Abbé Davauz, who had held

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the same post in regard to the first Dauphin and Madame. He was a man of great merit, and was so skilful in placing himself on a level with children, that the hours of study were recreation to them. Mgr. the Dauphin was very fond of him, and he had brought him forward in an incredible manner, always finding means to teach him, even in his play, something useful and pleasant. The young Prince was extremely curious, and asked questions about everything he saw. He was quite quick enough to perceive if the replies made to him were correct or not, and could even indulge in very apt repartee. One day when I was reproving him for something wrong which he had said, a person who was visiting me said to him jokingly, "I would bet that Madame de Tourzel is wrong, and that Monsieur le Dauphin is always right." "Monsieur," he replied, with a laugh, "you are a flatterer, for I got in a rage this morning."

He wished to try what he had to expect from me, and to see if I should be able to resist him. He consequently refused to do something I asked him to do, and said to me, with the utmost coolness, "If you do not do as I wish, I shall cry; they will hear me on the terrace, and then what will they say?" "That you are a naughty boy." "But if my crying makes me ill?" "I shall put you to bed, and treat you as an invalid." Then he began to cry, stamp his feet, and make a horrid noise. I did not say a word; I had his bed made, and

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ordered some broth for his supper. Then he looked at me fixedly, stopped his crying, and said to me, "I wanted to see what I could do with you. I see now that there is nothing for it but to obey you. Forgive me; it shall never happen again." On the following day, he said to the Queen, "Do you know who you have given me as governess? It is Madame Sévère."

As I never bothered him unnecessarily, and as he liked to come to my rooms and see people, he soon was really fond of me and my daughter Pauline. He often said to us in the most amiable manner, "Mon Dieu! how happy I am with you!" He was so fond of my Pauline that he was jealous of her, and it was very pleasant to see his petty displeasure, if he thought she liked anybody better than him.

The Flanders Regiment called on me on their arrival at Versailles. This visit was mentioned before Mgr. the Dauphin, who expressed to the Queen his great wish to be present at the interview. "But you would not know what to say to these gentlemen," said the Queen to him. "Do not trouble yourself, mamma, I shall not be embarrassed." Scarcely had the officers entered the room than the young Prince said to the foremost of them, "I am delighted to see you, gentlemen; but very sorry that I am too small to see all of you." Then seeing a very tall officer, he said to him, "Take me up in your arms, sir, so that

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I can see all these gentlemen." And then he said with charming gaiety, "I am very glad, gentlemen, to be in the midst of you." All the officers were delighted, and were touched to see so young a child so amiable and interesting on the eve, perhaps, of experiencing dire misfortune.

Although he learned everything he wanted to learn with the greatest facility, he found it so tiresome to learn to read that he took no pains to succeed, and when the Queen told him that it was disgraceful not to be able to read at four years of age, he replied, "Very well, mamma, I will learn as a New Year's gift to you." At the end of November he said to the Abbé Davauz, "I must know how much time I have between this and New Year's day, because I have promised mamma to be able to read by then." On hearing that he had only a month, he looked at the Abbé and said to him, with inconceivable coolness, "Please, my good Abbé, give me two lessons a day, and I will pay the greatest attention." He kept his word and went triumphantly to the Queen with a book in his hand, and throwing his arms round her neck the dear child said, "Here is your New Year's gift; I have kept my promise, and I know how to read now." His gaiety and graceful ways were the sole amusement of the Queen, who had no other distraction than that furnished by her children.

The lives of the King and Queen were very sad; the latter breakfasted alone every day, and then saw

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her children, during which the King visited her. She went to Mass, and then shut herself up in her private room. She dined at one o'clock with the King, Madame her daughter, and Madame Elizabeth. After dinner she played billiards with the King, so as to give him some exercise, worked at her tapestry, and then retired to her room until half-past eight, the hour when Monsieur and Madame came to supper, and at eleven o'clock she went to bed.

There was a Court on Sunday, play in the evening, and a Court again on Thursday morning only. The Queen was too much troubled to think of going to the theatre, and her heart was too sad to allow her to indulge in any dissipation out of doors.

The excitement in Paris continued to be fostered, and the National Guard, with M. de la Fayette at its head, was so afraid of compromising itself with the people, that repressive measures were only resorted to in the last extremity. An unfortunate baker was hanged during a popular tumult, and the National Guard arrived too late to save the life of the poor wretch. This weakness emboldened those to whom crime was nothing, and was the cause of many evils, which greater firmness might have obviated. The King, who was unable to find any remedy for this continuance of anarchy, was reduced to groaning over this fresh crime, and could only send help to the family of the poor man, whose wife died of grief soon after the death of her husband.

Under these circumstances, the Parliaments of

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Metz and Rouen declared, each one in a resolution full of firmness and determination, that they would only consent to suspend their functions and allow themselves to be replaced by the Vacation Chamber in order to avoid increasing the misfortunes of the King, and to give him a further proof of their respect and submission. The King, to whom these resolutions were presented, fearing that this courageous act would bring some great misfortune upon those who had drawn them up and given their adhesion to them, determined, on the advice of his ministers, to denounce them to the Assembly, in order to leave himself the power of requesting it not to deal rigorously with the authors. The good Prince was so afraid of jeopardising those who gave him marks of attachment, that this motive was frequently the cause of acts of weakness for which he was reproached.

The Assembly was very violent against the new Parliaments, and wished to deal harshly with them; but, flattered at seeing the King humble himself so far as to request their clemency, it contented itself by ordering their attendance at the bar, and declaring them incapable of exercising any public function.

When it was installed in the Tuileries it thought itself obliged to show the King some mark of respect, and it came in a body to present its homage to him and also to the Queen. The Princess received it with an amount of grace and dignity which astonished it, and impressed it in a manner totally unex-

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pected. This feeling was not of long duration. The foundations of the royal authority continued to be sapped.

Several members of the Assembly, the Duke de Lévis among them, suggested to the Queen that Mirabeau should be won over, and each one was anxious to be the bearer of the proposals to be made to him. M. de Lévis did everything in his power to obtain an audience of the Queen, and came to me several times to beg me to procure one for him. The Queen, who had no faith in his ideas, did not care about seeing him, continually made some excuse, but was unwilling to refuse him in so many words, lest she should make an enemy of him; and at last other matters made M. de Lévis give up his project.

The King was advised to confer with the members of the Commune who were charged with the provisioning of Paris, such as MM. Vauvilliers, Moreau de Saint Merry, and several others. His Majesty astonished them by the extent of his knowledge of administrative business, and by his extreme goodness and his love for his people. He convinced the greater number of the falsity of the ideas which had been spread abroad in regard to himself, and this was especially so in the case of M. de Vauvilliers, who promised him devotion which never varied.

The arrest of M. Augeard, Private Secretary to the Queen, caused that Princess, as well as the King, fresh grief; fortunately it resulted only in temporary imprisonment. He was set at liberty shortly after-

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wards. It was otherwise in the case of M. de Favras. He had formed several plans to extract the King from his cruel position. They were discovered, and the rebels, in order to intimidate those who might have other plans with the same object, resolved to compel the Châtelet to condemn him as guilty of treason to the nation.

M. de la Fayette, who suspected the Duke d'Orléans, and had successfully contrived to give him a so-called mission to England, alarmed at the probability of further intrigues, and especially at the particular one of which M. de Favras was accused, which was supposed to be directed against him, irritated the National Guard to such a degree that they left no stone unturned to secure the condemnation of that gentleman. A large number of the good men and true who were in the Guard, were annoyed and distressed by this, but unfortunately they could do nothing. The King and Queen did all in their power to save M. de Favras, but without success. Overwhelmed with grief, their Majesties were compelled to conceal their real feelings for fear of compromising those who were attached to them and might have had relations with him.

The King took no part in the intrigues formed in his favour. This good and excellent Prince was so afraid of the misfortunes which a civil war would bring about, that he preferred to prolong his sufferings rather than witness the employment of a means which might occasion so many evils. He, unfortunately, judged the hearts of others by his own,

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and he thought it impossible that so much patience and goodness should fail to win back his misguided subjects. This hope made him refuse the proposition of M. de Virieu and several of his deputies, who offered to set out for the Provinces, and rouse them by the narrative of the atrocities of the 5th and 6th of October, and his captivity in Paris. The disturbances in the Provinces distressed the King exceedingly, and each piece of intelligence of this kind which reached him, made him painfully sensible of the misfortune of not being able to find any remedy.

Continual efforts were made to disturb the King and Queen, and the most sinister rumours were spread of a plot which was to be put in operation during midnight Mass. Several persons attempted to dissuade their Majesties from going to it, although it was to be said in the chapel ; but they refused to listen, thinking that any show of anxiety would only have a bad effect. Not being able to divest myself of the impression imparted to me I declined to go, and I spent the whole time by the side of Mgr. the Dauphin, resolved not to go to bed until I knew that their Majesties had retired in peace to their rooms. The Queen, who knew this, was good enough to come to the Dauphin's room when she came back from Mass, and she bantered me on my cowardice, adding many amiable things about my attachment. It was impossible not to feel the most sincere devotion for a Princess who united so much grace and goodness to qualities so worthy of her rank and name.

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CHAPTER II.

THE YEAR 1790.

New Year's Day—Proceedings of the Vacation Chamber of the Parliament of Brittany—Trial of M. de Besenval—Attempt to unite the Right and the Moderate Party of the Assembly—Proceedings of the King in the Assembly on the 4th of February, and Speech of His Majesty—Troubles in the Provinces—Beginning of the Insurrection among the Troops—Death of M. de Favras—Decree to assure the tranquillity of the Provinces—Deputation of Merchants of the Kingdom—Beginning of the Insurrection in San Domingo—Authority delegated to the Districts—The Assembly usurps all Power, and leaves the King no Authority—Death of the Emperor Joseph II.—Inquiry of the Châtelet and the Commune in reference to the 5th and 6th of October—Happy replies of the Queen on this subject.

A DEPUTATION of the Assembly, with the President, M. Desmeunier, at their head, came to pay their homage to the King and Queen on New Year's Day. The President having wished the King happier days, the latter replied quickly, "I shall belong to the happiness of my people, which will always be the object of my desire." The President then went to the Queen, who received him, accompanied by her two children, and reminded him, with so much nobility and feeling, of his good wishes for the happi-

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ness of the King, that M. Desmeunier could not conceal the emotion he felt.

There could, indeed, be no more touching sight than to see this Princess with her two charming children. The one, still too young to be sensible of the misfortunes which threatened him, bore on his countenance the stamp of happiness and gaiety; the young Princess, at an age when she, too, ought to have had no other feelings than these, was already beginning that career of sorrows which she traversed with so much courage, sweetness, and sensibility. For her the King had a particular predilection; and though he was not demonstrative, he never let an opportunity escape him of letting her see the tender affection he bore her. The Queen, who was equally fond of her, thought herself bound to be severe towards her. False impressions had been given her of the character of Madame, whom she believed to be proud and so dissipated in mind as to render all intercourse with young ladies of her own age inconvenient.

I have never been able to imagine what could have given rise to this opinion. The young Princess, on the contrary, was good, affable, timid, and ever in need of being inspired with confidence. It would have been far more useful to her to have seen more people than to be for ever alone in her rooms with her women and the young person who was permitted by the Queen to share her studies and amusements. Deprived when so young of all support, left to herself in cruel captivity, she alone finished her own

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education; unhappiness was her tutor, and, fortunately, it did not alter those great qualities which circumstances developed to their greatest extent during the whole of her life.

Shortly afterwards the Assembly despatched another deputation, with the President at its head, to the King to ask his Majesty to fix the total of his Civil List, to take into consideration the brilliancy that ought to surround the throne of a great king, and to turn a deaf ear to that rigid economy which took its source from his love for his people, and also from the patriarchal morals which made him the best and most virtuous of kings. "I am deeply moved," said the King, "by this proceeding on the part of the Assembly; but before entering into the question, I will wait until there are funds available for the payment of the creditors of the State, and for the expenditure necessary for the maintenanee of public order; my personal needs are the least of my anxieties." How could an Assembly, which did such an act of homage to the virtues of its King, continue to pass decrees, the tendency of which was neither more nor less than to hurl him from his throne, and so to accumulate so many misfortunes on our unhappy country?

The Vacation Chamber of the Parliament of Brittany having refused to take notice of the decree suspending the Parliament and constituting the Vacation Chamber, was ordered to appear at the bar of the Assembly. It was composed of twelve

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magistrates, at the head of whom was De la Houssaye, the President. This virtuous magistrate, in his own name, as well as in those of his colleagues, represented with all possible energy the incapacity of the Chamber to take notice of this law, and the impossibility of its taking upon itself the right of renouncing anyone of the privileges of Brittany, which were only given to France under conditions that it alone would revoke; and that he and his virtuous colleagues were honoured by the faithful discharge of those duties which were imposed upon them in their capacity as magistrates. In declaring to the King and the Assembly that they were not competent to acquiesce in a decree absolutely at variance with the privileges of the Province, they could only respectfully explain the motives of their refusal.

Mirabeau and the other demagogue deputies replied violently and passionately. They were for a rigorous punishment of the magistrates who refused to obey their decrees, and wished to treat them as guilty of high treason. MM. de Frondeville, de Cazalès, d'Eprémenil, and several others pointed out the inconvenience of such a course, and the Assembly confined itself to decreeing that their resistance to the law rendered them incapable of exercising any function as active citizens until, on their own request presented to the Corps Législatif, they should be allowed to take the oath of fidelity to the Constitution decreed by the Assembly and sanctioned by

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the King. His Majesty, in spite of the esteem and appreciation he felt for the courageous fidelity of these magistrates, was compelled to keep silence, and was unable to give them any public mark of the satisfaction inspired in him by a line of conduct as firm as it was courageous.

The Baron de Besenval, who was arrested after the taking of the Bastille, on the pretence that he had intended to attack Paris and put its inhabitants to the sword, had been transferred to the prisons of the Châtelet, where his trial was energetically carried on. MM. Ogier and Garaud de Coulon, members of the Committee of Inquiry, brought forward fresh accusations every day, each one more absurd than its predecessor, and the latter person especially, who was reporter to the Committee, allowed his desire to secure a verdict of guilty to be seen in the most revolting manner. People were even suborned to incite the multitude and intimidate the judges.

M. Boucher d'Argis, President of the Châtelet, conducted himself throughout the proceedings with an amount of firmness that did him infinite honour. He gave orders to repress the disturbers of order, and, addressing the members of the Committee, he said, "Gentlemen, out of the seventy witnesses heard against M. de Besenval, not one has been furnished by the Châtelet; the Committee has furnished them all. If anybody has any more serious testimony to bear against him, let it be brought forward." This remark being received with pro-

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found silence, it was thought that the trial was on the eve of being concluded, but the Committee declared that it should be prolonged.

Some days before the closing, a riot was stirred up in Versailles in connection with the price of bread. The news of the release of M. de Besenval and the rising in the Faubourgs was published simultaneously in Paris. A crowd of rioters assembled outside the Châtelet, demanding the heads of M. de Besenval and de Favras.

Four-and-twenty soldiers of the paid troops assembled on the same day in the Champs Elysées with seditious news, and rumours calculated to rouse the populace were at the same time spread of a counter-revolution. By these means it was hoped that the members of the Châtelet might be intimidated, but the attempt failed. They maintained absolute calm amid all this agitation, and the zeal of the National Guard prevented this insurrection having any result.

MM. de Sèze and de Bruges, who appeared for M. de Besenval, defended him with equal zeal and firmness, and expressed their astonishment at seeing a Committee of Inquiry uniting the functions of public prosecutor, plaintiff, and public minister, and being themselves accused of having sought far and wide for witnesses.

The firmness and coolness of M. de Besenval never failed him for one instant throughout the trial. At last, after a hundred and seventy-eight witnesses had

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given evidence, the tribunal, in conformity with the conclusion of M. de Brunville, the *Procureur du Roi*, declared, by the mouth of M. Boucher d'Argis, that M. de Besenval was not guilty of the crimes imputed to him, and he at length recovered his liberty, after an imprisonment which lasted seven months.

M. de Besenval on the following day visited the King and Queen, who showed him in a very touching manner the joy they felt at seeing him again, and the anxiety he had caused them, adding a thousand questions about his captivity and the way he had been treated. He had been placed under the guard of a Commandant de Bataillon of the National Guard of Paris, called Bourdon de l'Oise. This man was orignally a *Procureur*, and was clever; but he was a revolutionary—violent, restless, and gloomy. The inequality of his disposition rendered M. de Besenval dependent on the state of his mind. When he was out of temper he threatened him with the dangers he incurred; at other times he was very good to him. In giving an account to their Majesties of his conduct in the Champ de Mars, on the occasion of the taking of the Bastille, M de Besenval was enthusiastic in his praise of the Duke de Choiseul, whom he had under his orders, representing him as a man of resource in danger, and unreservedly attached to their Majesties. This testimony, given at a time when the King and Queen were so moved by all that M. de Besenval had suffered, made a very strong impression upon them; and from that moment they

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evinced remarkable confidence in M. de Choiseul. M. de Besenval, though a clever man, was too shallow to be a good judge of men, and on this occasion he gave a proof of his lack of judgment which had direful consequences for the King and France.

Several deputies of the Right, who, although belonging to the Constitutional party, were attached to the King, such as MM. Malouet, Redon, etc., convinced of the necessity of giving him the means of compelling his authority to be respected, proposed a coalition with the Royalist party, hoping by this means to attract a goodly number of deputies of the Left to their party, and then to form a majority capable of dominating the factious section. MM. de la Chèze, the Chevalier de Boufflers, and the Bishop of Nancy (M. de la Fare) went with them to the Duke de Rochefoucauld. MM. de la Fayette, de Maubourg, and de la Coste, and the Duke de Liancourt met there also, and the following points were proposed as the bases of the coalition :—

1. To maintain the Constitution until time and experience should have made manifest the changes that ought to be made in it; to preserve the union of the three orders in one, and to hasten to restore to the King the power necessary to him to govern in conformity with Monarchical principles and the will of the nation as recognised by the Assembly.

2. To defend with all their might the rights of man and citizen which had been violated in their most essential points; and if the Constitution re-

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quired any further innovation in carrying it out, to avoid violent measures, which could only embitter the public mind and multiply misfortunes; to use every effort to establish order and security, the only resource for the re-establishment of confidence, credit, and the collection of taxes.

3. Not to interfere with anybody on account of religion, and to allow only the Catholic religion to enjoy the solemnity of public worship as the national religion.

4. To preserve to the churches a territorial endowment; to oppose any other alienation than that made in the month of December 1789, as extraordinary relief; and under no pretext to allow of alienation or better distribution of the property of the Church, except under the instructions and superintendence of the Provinces concerned.

5. To limit the tribunals to the solitary faculty of judging, and, while consulting necessity and justice, not to forget the regard due to the old magistrates.

6. To protect the liberty of the press, at the same time repressing licence by a wise and prudently conceived law.

7. To restrain the armed forces by severe laws, and to subordinate them entirely to the King, to whom the army and the National Guard ought to be in submission, as the Monarch himself was to the law.

8. Finally, to use every effort to hasten the conclusion of the labours of the Assembly, and to

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maintain union throughout the Kingdom under the protection of the law and the King.

The King, whose sole aim was the happiness of France, and who considered the above plan to be calculated to restore peace and concord, decided, on the advice of his Ministers, to adopt a proceeding in regard to the Assembly which he thought would accomplish his object. He appeared before it in person on the 4th of February, and stated that the force of circumstances led him to their midst in order to point out to them the existing imminent danger of allowing order and subordination to grow daily less respected, a state of things brought about by the suspension and inactivity of justice, the critical state of the finances, and the uncertainty in regard to public welfare. He added that, as there was a general tendency to disturb the friends of order and the prosperity of the kingdom, it was high time to put an end to so many evils.

The speech of the King was such an accurate reflex of his goodness and his love for his people, that I cannot refrain from giving an extract from it.

"Gentlemen," said this good King, "we have a great end before us, but we must reach it without any increase of trouble or convulsion. I have made every endeavour to give you the means of attaining it, and in spite of the difficult and afflicting circumstances in which I have found myself, I have neglected nothing which could contribute to the happiness of my people. I shall make, as I have

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already made, every sacrifice necessary to gain that end, but it is imperatively necessary that we should mutually assist each other. A common interest ought to-day to unite all citizens, so that no obstacle may be thrown in the way of finishing the Constitution; time will reform whatever is defective in it, but any enterprise tending to overthrow it can only have disastrous results.

"Put an end to the anxieties which keep away from France so many citizens, and are in direct contrast to the liberty you wish to establish.

"I love to think that the French will one day recognise the advantage of the suppression of orders and estates, whenever the question shall arise of working in common for the public good; but I think, at the same time, that nothing can destroy whatever tends to recall to a nation the antiquity and continuity of the services of an honoured race, or the respect due to the ministers of a religion which all citizens have an equal interest in maintaining and defending.

"I cannot conceal from you the losses sustained by those who have given up their pecuniary privileges, and who have no longer any political order in the State; but they are generous enough to consider themselves compensated if the nation benefits by these sacrifices. I should have enough to do were I to occupy myself with my personal losses, but for them I shall receive ample compensation when I can witness the happiness of the people.

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"I will maintain that Constitutional liberty whose general principles have been consecrated by the general wish, and in concert with the Queen I will in good time prepare the heart and mind of my son for the new order of things which is established, and I will accustom him from his earliest years to be happy in the happiness of the French.

"I do not doubt but that you will occupy yourselves in strengthening the executive power, without which there can be no safety either within or without, and that you will remember that confusion of powers speedily degenerates into the most dangerous of tyrannies.

"You will consider all that a kingdom like France requires by reason of its extent, population, and foreign relations, and you will not neglect to fix your attention on the character and habits of the French people, so that there may be no alteration, but, on the contrary, an increase, in the sentiments of amiability, confidence, and goodness which have gained for them so much renown and consideration. Give them an example of the justice which is a safeguard to property, and so necessary to social order.

"Join with me in preventing the criminal violence and excesses which are being committed in the Provinces; and you, gentlemen, who can in so many ways bring your influence to bear on the public confidence, instruct this people, so dear to me, and by whom, so I am told, I am so beloved, if you wish to console me in my trouble. Ah! if they knew how

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unhappy I am when I hear of any attack committed against either person or property, they would spare me this painful bitterness. It is time to put an end to all this uneasiness, and to restore to the kingdom all the strength and credit which it is able to acquire.

"May this day, on which your Monarch comes to meet you in the frankest and most intimate manner, be a signal of peace and reunion; may those who hold aloof from this spirit of peace and concord make a sacrifice to me of all that afflicts them, and I will repay them with the profoundest gratitude. Beginning from to-day, let us all have but one feeling—attachment to the Constitution, and an ardent desire for the peace and prosperity of France."

M. Bureau de Puzi, the President, who shared the sentiments expressed by the King, testified, in the name of the Assembly, the respect, gratitude, and love due from France to the patriotism of a King who, without ceremony, and adorned by his virtue alone, had just entered into an engagement to love and maintain the Constitution and obey the law.

The applause, which had more than once interrupted the speech of the King, was renewed as he left. The President accompanied him to the door, and a deputation escorted him back to the Castle. This deputation found the Queen walking on the terrace with Mgr. the Dauphin. "Gentlemen," said this Princess to them, "I share all the sentiments of the King. Here is my son. I will often speak to him of the virtues of the best of fathers, and of the

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love of public liberty, of which I hope he will be the firmest support."

M. Goupil de Préfel moved, as soon as the King had left, that all the deputies should take the civil oath in these terms:—"I swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the King, and to maintain by all means in my power the Constitution decreed by the Assembly and sanctioned by the King." Nearly all the deputies, with the President at their head, took this oath; the Keeper of the Privy Seal (M. de Cicé, Archbishop of Bordeaux) likewise took it as a deputy, and the spectators in the galleries united in it by holding up their hands.

The first wish of the Assembly, expressed by the Count de Clermont-Tonnerre, was to express to his Majesty the gratitude of the Corps Législatif by an address of thanks, to be accompanied by a similar one to the Queen. They were passed, and the same evening a deputation of sixty members, with the President at their head, presented themselves at the Castle.

After an expression of gratitude, the President promised the King forgetfulness of all discussions, unanimity of will, and the merging of all private interests into the one public interest as the necessary fruit of the patriotism and virtues of the King; and he concluded his speech by asking the King to enjoy the love and confidence of his people, assuring him that posterity itself would never cease to bless his memory. The King thanked him for the senti-

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ments to which he had given utterance, and expressed the hope he had of seeing the true friends of the people rally round him to assure their happiness—public liberty.

The deputation then went to the Queen, and after having informed her of the appreciation the Assembly had of the noble and touching words that had reached them from her, they added, in regard to Mgr. the Dauphin :—"Watch, Madame, over this precious scion; may he have the sensibility, affability, and courage which characterise you; your care will ensure his glory, and France, whose happiness you will have procured, will know its value in remembering that it owes it to the virtues of your Majesty."

The Keeper of the Privy Seal had brought the Queen a draft of the speech she was to make in reply to that which the President had shown him, but the latter having subsequently made an alteration in his, the Queen, who was quite capable of expressing herself without assistance, replied to the deputation in her own words :—"I fully appreciate, gentlemen, the evidences of your affection; you received this morning the expression of my sentiments. They never vary in regard to the nation which it is my glory to have adopted when I united my life to that of the King; my title of mother assures me of these ties for ever."

The visit and speech of the King to the Assembly produced general enthusiasm. M. Bailly proposed to

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send to the King sixty members of the Commune in order to present to him assurances of their respect and attachment, and to pay similar homage to the Queen. This resolution was adopted unanimously, and the deputation presented itself on the following day at the Castle. The city was illuminated in the evening, and it was resolved that a *Te Deum* should be sung on the following Sunday in the Church of Nôtre Dame.

On the evening of the 4th M. Bailly proposed that the civic oath should be taken by the General Assembly of the Commune. Each member took it individually; the spectators did likewise, and a proposal was made for the admission of the crowd who had assembled in the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. M. Bailly went outside on to the steps and swore, as the deputies had done, to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the King, and to maintain by every means in his power the Constitution decreed by the Assembly and sanctioned by the King. The people listened to him in profound silence, and afterwards gave their adhesion to the oath by repeated cheers and shouts of "Long live the King!"

The Abbé Faucher used all his eloquence to induce the Assembly at this sitting to decree to M. Bailly the title of Municipe Général of all the Municipalities of the Kingdom, and to M. de la Fayette that of brother-in-arms of all the National Guards of the Kingdom, but this proposition was unfavourably received and rejected in the most decisive fashion.

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Several persons and some of the members of the Assembly thought the clause somewhat vague which obliged them to swear to maintain by every means in their power a Constitution which was still incomplete, and they refused to take the oath; but on the explanation of the President that the oath could not prevail over the national right to reform the Constitution, the greater number consented to swear.

This proceeding on the part of the King was far from producing the effect which he anticipated from it. M. Malouet, wishing to profit by the sensation produced by the speech of the King, proposed, on the following day, that the Assembly should take into consideration the requests of his Majesty, and moved that a sitting should be devoted to examine the principal points involved in them and the observations to which they had given rise. But this motion encountered such opposition that the Assembly passed to the order of the day. M. Malouet declared that he would make it public, and proposed that at least a resolution should be passed requesting the King to take the most efficacious measures and to give orders for the protection of property and the safety of citizens; that all the military and administrative bodies should be enjoined to punctually comply with orders from the King signed by a Secretary of State; that all resistance, not founded on stated violation of Constitutional decrees, should be punished as forfeiture; that all insubordination in the military and naval force should be punished in conformity with

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military law; that the same decree should suppress the Committees of Inquiry in Paris, as well as those which might have been established in the various towns in the kingdom, and should order the Finance Committee to render continuous accounts to the Assembly of the deficit of the last six months of the year 1789.

The refusal to take into consideration so reasonable a motion plainly showed the spirit of the Assembly, and the proposed fusion under the title of "The Impartials" had not the success which its authors vainly flattered themselves it would have. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld and those of his party asserted that they had no idea of creating any schism in the Assembly. The Royalists, who always distrusted the Constitutionalists, only showed themselves more disinclined to approach them, and the Society of "The Impartials" from that time fell into a kind of contempt; the name of *Monarchiens*, which was given to its members, turned it into such ridicule that it was powerless to do any good.

The King had clearly foreseen the effect which his appearance in the Assembly would have on the Royalists. He never anticipated making any impression on the factious spirits, but he wished to try this last resource in regard to those who were only misguided. His scant success increased still more the regret at the sight of this Prince undertaking to maintain a yet incomplete Constitution, whose authors, so far from repressing the excesses

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which were of daily occurrence in the Provinces, were only bent upon the ruin of the kingdom and the downfall of the Monarch and the Monarchy.

Insurrections continued to multiply in the interior of the kingdom, and brigands took advantage of their impunity to rob and burn castles and commit every species of disorder. The Assembly, which never lost sight of its projects of destruction, was far more occupied with the overthrow of the Monastic orders and the sale of the property of the clergy, than with the repression of all these excesses. A sitting was, however, devoted to the subject, but the outcome of it was merely to request the King to give orders for the execution of the decree of the 6th of August concerning public liberty, and to charge the President of the Assembly to write to the Municipalities in which the disturbances had taken place, requesting them to state the extent to which they were affected by the existing disorders, which would compel the executive power to employ forces that would be placed at their disposal for the restoration of order. It should be here remarked that for some time past the Assembly had avoided all mention of the name of King, and made use of that of the executive power, in order to get the people out of the habit of the respect they had felt for so long a time for that honoured name.

The Abbé Maury and M. de Cazalès declared that recourse to the executive power, which had been deprived of all force and authority, was plainly illusory,

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and that strong and vigorous measures should be taken, the want of public force being the sole cause of all the atrocities.

MM. Voidel and Lanjuinais replied to the Abbé Maury; and the latter traced the cause of all the crimes that had been committed to the rigour with which the aristocracy maintained their authority. M. Cazelès stoutly denied this assertion; but no attention was paid to the proofs he adduced in support of his speech, and the agreement was quite as general to employ gentle measures against the good people who were burning the castles. "Do not prostitute the word people, but call them brigands!" said M. d'Epréménil. "I will say, if you like," replied Robespierre, "the citizens who are burning the castles; for the love of tranquillity might place liberty in danger." The result of this consoling explanation was the adoption of the proposed decree.

The King was deeply moved by the renewal of such excesses, and had besides the pain of seeing the denunciation of citizens who conducted themselves firmly and courageously. He was much grieved at the outrageous charges brought against M. d'Albert de Rioms, Commandant of the Navy at Toulon, and M. de Bournissac, Provost General of Provence, in the report made to the Assembly about the affairs of Toulon and Marseilles.

M. d'Albert de Rioms, having manifested his intention of punishing the disobedience of two workmen of the port of Toulon, roused a disturbance

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against himself among a certain number of naval volunteers, who demanded justice for the people of Toulon. M. d'Albert de Rioms, afraid of the danger to the Arsenal in the event of a rising among the workmen of the port, allowed himself to be imprisoned rather than make a resistance which might have a disastrous result; he therefore merely demanded that justice should be done to him. The affair was taken before the Assembly, which was undecided as to whether or not the conduct of M. d'Albert de Rioms amounted to an attempt against the liberty of the subject.

M. de Mirabeau and several other deputies, among them one named Ricard, a deputy of Provence, were very violent against M. d'Albert de Rioms, and were anxious to send the matter to the Châtelet. But all the sensible members of the Assembly united to do this officer the justice which his wise and moderate conduct deserved. After several sittings it was resolved that there was no ground of complaint against M. d'Albert de Rioms or any of the officers accused; that a copy of the resolution should be sent to him by the President; and that to this copy should be added an expression of the esteem of the Assembly for a warrior who had so gloriously upheld the honour of the nation. It was generally remarked as a singular incident that the deputies who had been the most bitter against M. d'Albert de Rioms not only applauded the resolution, but requested in addition that the same expressions of esteem should be ex-

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tended to all the naval officers at Toulon who were implicated in the affair.

The matter concerning M. de Bournissac occupied a greater number of sittings. He had by his firm and courageous conduct repressed the disturbances originated in Marseilles by three persons, whom he had caused to be arrested and handed over to the police. They complained to the Assembly, and the protectors of licence defended the authors of those insurrections. The Count de Mirabeau spoke in their favour with his usual vehemence; and being anxious to revenge himself upon M. de Bournissac, who had condemned him in connection with an affair anterior to the Revolution, he employed every means in his power to have him found guilty; but he was unsuccessful, and the Assembly remitted the affair to the proper tribunal.

The Vivarais Regiment, in garrison at Béthune, also revolted. It refused to accept the Chevalier de Maillier as its Lieutenant-Colonel, although it had no ground of complaint against him. The King, after having given it time to repent, and being anxious to put an end to so dangerous an example, ordered the regiment away from Béthune, at the same time directing that the loyal soldiers should be separated from those in revolt, and that only those should be kept with the colours who would recognise the authority of the Chevalier de Maillier. This order was read out to the regiment on its arrival at Lens; but the majority of the men, with several non-com-

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missioned officers at their head, refused to obey, seized the colours, chest, and equipment of the regiment, conveyed everything to Béthune, and handed it over to the Commandant of the National Guard. The Marquis de Courtarvel, and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who remained faithful, made desperate efforts to save the colours; but failing in their attempt, M. de Courtarvel set out at once to demand their restoration by the Mayor of Béthune, who refused to give them up.

The King, who was informed of the progress of this revolt, cashiered all the non-commissioned officers and men who had refused to obey his orders, declared that he would only recognise them as rebels who ought to be handed over to the rigour of military law, and sent new colours to the regiment, looking upon the old ones as soiled. In addition to this, having been informed that the town of Lens had come to the assistance of the regiment, and had advanced money to it, he directed that it should be reimbursed as quickly as possible, and he charged the Count de Sommièvre, who commanded in the Province, to convey to it his satisfaction at the genuine patriotism it had displayed on this occasion.

There was also an insurrection at Lyons, directed against M. Imbert Colonia, senior Alderman and Commandant of the Volunteers of that town. He was a man of distinguished merit. The services he had rendered at the head of the Volunteers in the maintenance of public tranquillity in Lyons and its

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suburbs, could not hold him harmless against the fury of the rebels. The people were roused against him, and in spite of the prudence and firmness he displayed under the circumstances, he was in the end compelled to take refuge in Bourg en Bresse, where the Municipality took him under its protection; but before leaving Lyons he sent in his resignation to the Consulate.

At the same time there were bloody struggles in Béziers in defence of the smugglers. Limousin, Quercy, and Périgord also were subject to robbery and incendiarism, and the spirit of revolt manifested itself on all sides.

The Assembly, fearing that these continual dissensions would disturb the confidence of the nation, decreed an address to the Provinces, and empowered M. de Talleyrand to draw it up. It enumerated the labours of the Assembly, the so-called innumerable benefits it had already procured for the nation, as well as those which the completion of the Constitution would confer upon them; it entreated them not to allow themselves to be discouraged by the insinuations of the malevolent, but to continue to place their confidence in an Assembly which would put under the protection of the nation the Constitution best adapted to render France free and happy.

When the report of the division of the kingdom was finished, M. de Cazalès represented to the Assembly that it was necessary that, on the assembly of the Provinces, they should be in a position to judge

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of the conduct of their representatives; that, as the existing dissensions between the various parties in the Assembly placed continual obstacles in the way of the success of its labours, he moved for a new election of deputies to the Assembly so soon as the Departments should be formed; for the exclusion of the members of the existing Legislature from that which would replace it; and for an address to the King to convoke it in a town at least thirty leagues distant from Paris. He added that this was the only way to prove to the nation that the Assembly had not misunderstood its authority; to obviate the suspicions of the Provinces in regard to the enforced residence of the King in the capital, and the umbrage they might take in consequence of the National Assembly holding its sittings in a city whose interests were so often opposed to their own. This motion produced the greatest indignation among the members of the Left of the Assembly, and without even allowing any discussion, it passed to the order of the day.

No opportunity was lost of creating public excitement, and atrocious calumnies were permitted against the most respectable persons. Several newspapers went so far as to state in their columns that the Condé Regiment, in garrison in the town of that name, had just destroyed the arms of that Prince, and had requested that its name might be changed. The regiment requested the Count de Sesmaisons, its Colonel, to contradict this statement in the name of

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the whole of the *corps* so outrageously calumniated. The Count consequently wrote a most noble letter, in which he made known that the regiment gloried in bearing a name so illustrious in the annals of the nation, and maintained with fresh brilliancy in the last war by the Prince whose name it then bore; and he had this letter inserted in every newspaper.

Such was the general madness, that the members of the battalion of the Saint Honoré district, in order to render homage to the recently-promulgated decree, by virtue of which any misdeeds, rendered personal, could not fall upon the families of those guilty of them, solemnly paid the last honours to the bodies of MM. Agasse, the nephews of the President of that district, who had been executed for the crime of forgery; bestowed promotion on all their relations; and then went to do homage for this conduct to the Assembly, which gave them high praise and accorded to them the honours of the sitting.

The death of M. de Favras was a source of deep regret to all thinking and honourable people, who could not witness without indignation the determination displayed by the Committee of Enquiry to secure his condemnation. It was shared by M. de la Fayette, and the majority of the National Guard, and was carried to such a pitch that several of its members, albeit attached to the Constitution, were ashamed to wear a uniform under which such excess was allowed.

None of the witnesses examined in the trial of

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M. de Favras had borne testimony against him. There was no real proof of conspiracy ; the strongest presumption in that direction was based on the evidence of two witnesses only, named Turcatti and Morel, both of them recruiters, the one an avowed informer, the other accused by M. de Favras and for that reason ineligible as a witness. Nevertheless, on evidence such as this, after a sitting which lasted until six o'clock in the evening, M. de Favras was found guilty of having attempted to set on foot a counter revolution, having for its object the dissolution of the National Assembly, the removal of the King to Péronne, and the deaths of MM. Necker, de la Fayette, and Bailly ; and in consequence of his conduct he was condemned to be hanged, and to do public penance at Notre Dame.

M. Thilorier, his counsel, and the Baron de Cormeré, his brother, defended him with all possible warmth and feeling eloquence ; but they had the grief of seeing, by the efforts which were made to influence the judges, that these efforts were futile. All the sittings of this trial were accompanied by tumultuous disorder, which could not fail to alarm all weak and pusillanimous minds, and the atrocity was carried to the length of general applause when the sentence of death was pronounced.

M. Quatremer read out the sentence to M. de Favras, who heard it with firmness, interrupting him on several occasions in order to protest his innocence. M. Quatremer, in exhorting him to profit

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by the consolations of religion, the only ones he could offer him, added, it is said, these words, "Your life is a sacrifice you owe to public tranquillity." "My consolations," said M. de Favras, "are in my innocence. Ah, how I pity the French, since the information of two perjured men suffices to secure their condemnation." He requested that the *curé* of Saint Paul might be with him in his last moments, and he spent an hour and a half alone with him. He then mounted the tumbril firmly, looking with disdain on the applause of a drunken and excited mob. When he reached Notre Dame he took his sentence, read it with a firm, clear voice, and then said, "Listen, you people, to what I am about to say to you. As surely as I am going to appear before God, I die innocent. I obey the justice of man which, as you know, is not infallible." He then got into the tumbrel as firmly as before, and requested to be taken to the Hôtel de Ville.

He there found M. de Quatremer and two other judges, whom he saluted in the most imposing manner. He then explained his conduct in a speech as cogent as it was touching, forgave the authors of his death, and declared that the refusal to listen to the witnesses he wished to produce, was the cause of the iniquitous judgment which had soiled the lips which had pronounced it, and the hand which had signed it. "My conduct," he added, "is honourable; I loved my King, and I wished to save him from the dangers which he might incur. I die with

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the calmness that comes from a tranquil conscience, and I commend my memory to the esteem of all virtuous citizens, as well as my wife and children, to whom I was so necessary. I ask for pardon for the false witnesses if they are recognised as such, and I beg that nobody may dread the consequences of an imaginary plot." He left the Hôtel de Ville, and ascended the scaffold with the same firmness, giving an example of a death as heroic as it was Christianlike.

The King and Queen were deeply moved by the condemnation of M. de Favras. I was a witness of their grief, and even now I shrink from thinking of the condition in which I saw the Queen when she was informed that M. de Favras no longer existed.

On the 20th of February, a discussion again took place on the necessity of taking steps to re-establish public tranquillity. The Abbé Maury and MM. Malouet and Cazalès considered it indispensable to commence by re-establishing the authority of the King; but Mirabeau and those of his party spoke with such warmth of the danger which the Constitution would run if, before it was completed, what was reserved for it should be bestowed upon the executive power, that the Assembly contented itself with decreeing that nobody could avail himself of any act emanating from the King and the Assembly, unless it was drawn up in the form prescribed by law, under pain of being considered a disturber of the public peace; that the speech of the King, the

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address of the Assembly, and the decrees sanctioned by the King, should be sent to all the Municipalities of the kingdom, with orders to placard them, and to the priests to publish them from the pulpit; and Municipal officers were enjoined to employ every means in their power to maintain the security of persons and property; and in cases where seditious gatherings placed these in danger, martial law was to be proclaimed. It rendered it obligatory on all Municipalities to lend assistance mutually on requisition, and held them responsible for the consequences in case they refused. The Communes in their turn were held responsible for all damage which might be caused by seditious gatherings, but they were not to take proceedings against the authors of them; their responsibility was to be decided by the tribunal of the place, on the requisition of the tribunal of the district.

A deputation from the commerce of the whole kingdom, and especially from the commercial community of Bordeaux, came to point out that its decline heralded total annihilation, unless the Assembly would apply a prompt remedy to the spirit of insurrection which was manifesting itself in the colonies. "The establishments which France has formed," said the members of these two deputations, "produce a revenue of 240,000,000 francs, of which a balance of 80,000,000 is in our favour. The existence of 6,000,000 Frenchmen is bound up in their fate. It is recognised that the negroes alone can cultivate the Colonies; they cannot exist without the preservation

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of the treaty and the slavery of the negroes, and for the 400,000,000 due to the mother-country by the Colonies there is no other security than the property of the latter."

The insurrection in San Domingo had been in preparation for two or three months. The deputies of that island warned the Assembly of this, but no notice was taken by it, and the Government alone was uneasy about the fate of the colonies. The Intendant had been obliged to fly; the senior Commissioner and the Solicitor-General had been severely ill-treated; and to complete the tale of disaster, M. Ferrand des Grandières, the Seneschal, accused without reason of having attempted to rouse the mulattoes at the Cape and in the Northern Provinces, was hanged; arms were taken from the Arsenal; additional militia was called into existence, and the Cape regiment was incorporated under the orders of M. de la Chevalerie, who was appointed Captain-General. The plan of the Convocation of the Assemblies, sent by the Minister of Marine, was intercepted, as well as two letters addressed to M. de Peinières, Commandant in San Domingo, indicating to him the mode of convocation and the line of conduct he was to pursue.

The Provincial Assembly of the Cape constituted itself, and named M. de la Chevalier its President. It declared that all power was vested in it; that every other Assembly was illegal and seditious; that it would no longer recognise M. de Peinières as Com-

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mandant so long as he would not take the oath. It dismissed the Superior Council, re-established that of the Cape, and opened the ports to foreigners. M. de Peinières continued to wait for orders from the King in regard to taking the oath; but as he did not receive any—his letters having been either suppressed or intercepted—he determined at length to take it in order to maintain peace in those portions of the Colonies which had not up to that time participated in the insurrection.

All this intelligence caused the greatest uneasiness. The Assembly, instead of finding a remedy, occupied itself, on the contrary, with the emancipation of the negroes. The representations of the commercial classes at length became so pressing that it was resolved to appoint a commission of twelve members to report on the Colonies. The King, who was fully sensible of the importance of the question, was very much agitated in regard to the result. Fortunately Barnave, who was entrusted with the report, was made to understand the importance of preserving property so essential to France; and he promised to do all in his power to draw up a report which should put an end to all anxiety, and to secure its adoption by the Assembly. He kept his word, and the decree, which was drawn up in accordance with the terms of the report, was so wise and moderate that it saved the Colony for the moment. It was passed almost unanimously, despite the efforts of Péthion, Mirabeau, and the friends of the negroes,

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who were quite willing to sacrifice to their principles a colony so precious to France, and on which depended the existence of so large a number of Frenchmen. The King and Queen rejoiced exceedingly over this decree. They were both more taken up with the misfortunes of France than with their own position, and it would be impossible to find a Sovereign more attached to his people than was our unhappy King.

A few days afterwards, their Majesties had the additional satisfaction of seeing M. Augeard, Private Secretary to the Queen, set at liberty. He had been in prison for four months, and had been transferred to the Court of the Châtelet, which, as we know, was established by the Assembly for the trial of cases of treason against the nation. MM. Ogier and Garaud de Coulon, Members of the Committee of Inquiry, did everything in their power to obtain his conviction on a pretended change of having formed a plan for the removal of the King; but as the evidence was absolutely at variance with any such charge, he recovered his liberty.

Several districts, sure of being supported by the Assembly, arrogated to themselves arbitrary power, and indulged in the most inflammatory resolutions. That of the Cordeliers was one of the most remarkable of this class. It was composed of all the most turbulent and seditious elements of the capital. Danton, one of its members, once a barrister before the Council, and who afterwards figured in so cruel

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a manner in the Revolution, having been accused of inflammatory resolutions, was ordered to the Châtelet to be heard in his own defence, and as he took no notice of this he was arrested. The district took his part, and sent a deputation to the Assembly to obtain his liberty. In his favour, they fell back upon a decree, under which a Procureur du Roi, accused of having had similar designs, was acquitted. The Abbé Fauchet spoke in favour of Danton and of a resolution from the same district, which demanded the institution of a Grand Jury for the trial of offences of treason against the nation. M. Godard explained the inconvenience of this measure so forcibly to the Assembly, that it passed to the order of the day.

Nothing was so alarming as the facility with which the liberty of the citizen was attacked. The Chevalier de Laizer had been arrested a few days previously by an emissary from the Châtelet, assisted by ten members of the National Guard, on the simple information of somebody unknown, and he was put in prison; but the remonstrance of the district of the Minimes, to which he belonged, restored him to liberty. This district sent a deputation to the Commune to complain of the arbitrary arrests, and to demand the suppression of the Committee of Enquiry. The Abbé Fauchet, President of the Commune, declared that this Committee was not responsible for the arrest of M. de Laizer, and that its preservation was necessary, it having done more for the Revolution than any other institution.

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There were lengthy debates in the Assembly about the military constitution. The Abbé Maury proposed that the army should be under the orders of the King, the responsibility of the agents being alone excepted. Such authority in the hands of the King alarmed the Assembly. Barnave, Alexandre de Lameth, and Dubois de Crancé protested and maintained that, sovereignty being vested in the people, nothing should be entrusted to the King but the power of putting the law in execution. It was decreed that the King should be the supreme head of the army, but that he should not be empowered to introduce foreign troops, except by virtue of a resolution of the Corps Legislatif sanctioned by him; that every citizen should be eligible for military employ; that no soldier should be dismissed without legal trial; that the venality of all military employment should be suppressed; that every soldier should take the civic oath; that each Parliament should fix the amount to be voted for the maintenance of the army, the number of which it was to be composed, the pay of each grade, and the rules of admission and promotion; that the Committee of the Constitution should be charged to propose, as quickly as possible, a plan on the subject of the employment of the forces in the interior of the kingdom, and their relationship with the civil power and the National Guard; and on the mode of recruiting in time of war, after the cessation of the system of balloting for the militia; and that the King should

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be requested to present a plan of organisation, so that the Assembly might be in a position to deliberate upon the jurisdiction of the executive power.

The Vacation Chamber of the Parliament of Bordeaux having ordered a prosecution of the brigands, who were infesting the Provinces under its jurisdiction, on the requisition of M. Dudon, Solicitor-General of that Court, it was denounced to the Assembly by the patriotic army of Bordeaux, and so was the charge made by M. Dudon. The latter was bold enough to throw the blame on the results of the Revolution, and compared the misfortunes it had occasioned, with the happiness it would have produced if it had been better conducted. The Assembly ordered a report on this affair, and, on the advice of the Committee, ordered the President of the Vacation Chamber and M. Dudon to appear at the bar of the House. The latter was, however, by reason of his eighty-three years, permitted to give in writing the motives of his conduct; and the Assembly thanked the patriotic army of Bordeaux for the zeal it had never ceased to display since the Revolution.

M. Augeard, President of the Vacation Chamber, betook himself at once to Paris, appeared at the bar, and justified his colleagues in a speech full of cogency and wisdom. The Assembly were so irritated by it that M. de Menou, who presided over it, comported himself against M. Augeard in the most

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indecent manner. Very stormy debates took place on this subject. M. Augeard was in the end allowed to retire with the admonition that the Assembly would reserve to itself the right of examining the motives of the conduct of the Chamber.

To the troubles of the Queen was now added her most heartfelt loss. The Emperor Joseph II. died at Vienna on the 20th of February. He had always been tenderly attached to the Queen, the youngest of his sisters. He looked upon her as his daughter, and was deeply grieved by her misfortunes. During the last days of his life he wrote her a most tender and touching letter. He told her that one of his greatest regrets in dying was leaving her in so cruel a position, and his inability to give her some real tokens of the affection he had always had for her. The Queen, after having given way to her grief for a few days, courageously hid it within her own bosom, and received the condolences usual on such occasions. The Assembly sent her a deputation, with the Abbé de Montesquiou, its President, at its head. The latter took advantage of the occasion to render to the character of the Queen the homage due to it, and he concluded his speech with this remarkable sentence, "The Assembly bases its hope, Madame, on that force of character which raises your Majesty above all reverses."

Ever great and noble, this Princess compelled respect even from those who were most disposed to fail in it. The Commune of Paris, when inquiring

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into the occurrences of the 5th and 6th of October, their instigators, and adherents, sent a deputation to the Queen to beg her to throw some light upon those fearful days. "No," she replied, "I will never be the accuser of the subjects of the King." Her reply to the deputation from the Châtelet on the same subject was no less noble. "*I have seen all, known all, and forgotten all.*" And she confined her reply to these splendid words.

The activity displayed by the Châtelet in discovering those responsible for the days whose crimes dishonoured France, drew upon it many enemies. The Committee of Inquiry, alarmed by their threats, and composed of ardent revolutionaries, demanded and received permission from the Commune to denounce only the day of the 6th of October, regarding the denunciation of the 5th as anti-revolutionary. It was, nevertheless, on this day that the attack against the Castle began, which they would have violated if the firm bearing of the Body Guard had not stopped them; that they assassinated two officers of that *corps*, and made known their sinister projects by the remarks they let fall while seeking for entrances by which they might penetrate into the apartments of the Royal Family.

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CHAPTER III.

THE YEAR 1790.

First Communion of Madame—Formation of several Federations in various Provinces of the Kingdom—Disorder in the Finances—Sale of the Property of the Clergy and their Civil Constitution—Suppression of all the Tribunals of the Kingdom—Repeated Denunciations, and Protection accorded to the Informers—Institution of Judges—Disturbances in the Kingdom—Debate on the Right of making Peace and War, and the Decree passed on this Subject.

ALTHOUGH Madame was only twelve years of age, the King and Queen decided that she should make her first communion at Easter. Her piety, which seemed to be born with her, rendered this ceremony very touching. Before starting for the Church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, the parish church of the Tuileries, Madame knelt at the feet of the King and Queen and asked their blessing. The King, imbued with those religious principles which alone could have sustained him in his unparalleled misfortunes, spoke to her in a very touching manner of the great action she was about to perform, and added, as he took her in his arms, "Pray, my daughter, for France and for us; the prayers of innocence can appease the celestial anger." The young Princess

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burst into tears, was unable to utter a word, and got into the carriage with me, the Duchess de Charost, my daughter, and the Baroness de Mackau, Assistant Governess of the Children of France, who had the charge of Madame. The young Princess reached the church with a most composed mein, and approached the holy table with marks of most sincere devotion. The Queen was present *incognita* at this ceremony, which was very simple, and went off as quietly as possible. Their Majesties on this occasion distributed abundant alms among the parishes of Paris.

Madame was instructed by the *curé* of Saint Eustache, who was clever, well informed, and of exemplary morals. But he was, unfortunately, feeble and timid in disposition, and he had not courage enough to expose himself to the persecution which was to result from the sanction of the civil Constitution of the Clergy. The sorrow he felt for his own weakness materially affected his health and shortened his days. He showed the greatest regret for his fault during his last illness, and he only deferred his retractation of it in the hope of making it in person in the church; but death surprised him before he was able to fulfil a duty which the publicity of his fault had rendered so necessary.

In Dauphiné, as well as in several other Provinces of the kingdom, parliamentary federations were formed. That of the town of Romans, consisting of eight thousand persons, had at its head the Baron de Gilliers, Commandant of the National

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Guard of Dauphiné and Vivarais. He was delegated to present to the King, in the name of these two Provinces, an address expressing their submission and their desire to see the restoration to the King of the authority so necessary to the safety of France and the happiness of his subjects. The Baron de Gilliers had both talent and firmness. At the beginning of the Revolution, he, like so many other Dauphinois, allowed himself to be carried away by an exaggerated desire for liberty; but, an honest man and attached to the King, he saw with pain that he was misunderstood, and he desired to repair, by means of genuine services, the error into which he had allowed himself to be drawn. He never wavered for an instant in this resolution, and more than once gave proofs of devotion which caused him to be distinguished by Madame Elizabeth, who on several occasions gave him tokens of her confidence and esteem.

The Assembly, urged to apply a prompt remedy to the critical state of the finances, directed the Minister to render an account of their situation, and of his views for their improvement. M. Necker consequently appeared before the Assembly. After having demonstrated the necessity of taking prompt and efficacious measures to arrest a deficit which was daily increasing, he pointed out several methods of remedy, and expressed himself as by no means in despair as to the re-establishment of the finances of a kingdom which had so many resources. The As-

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sembly resolved that the report should be considered, and that three sittings a week should be devoted to the finances of the kingdom.

M. Necker was already paying the penalty of his ingratitude and disloyalty. Distrusted by the Assembly, detested by the faithful servants of the King, and without the slightest possibility of being able to satisfy his ambition, he saw, but too late, that a man ends by being the victim of those whom he raises at the expense of his duty.

As the moment appeared to be favourable to bring about the destruction of the clergy by means of the sale of their property, M. Bailly, in order to accomplish it more speedily, proposed to the Assembly that a decree should be passed granting to the Municipality of Paris the power of buying Church property to the extent of 400,000,000 francs, in exchange for which it should subscribe an equal value in notes redeemable in fifteen years, and that the same favour should be extended to the other Municipalities of the kingdom up to a similar amount. This proposition gave rise to very warm discussions between the two parties in the Assembly. A great number of deputies were opposed to it. The Archbishop of Aix, the Bishop of Nancy, and several others showed with as much wisdom as moderation the inconveniences which would arise from the creation of assignats and the sale of clerical property before any provision had been made for the tithes, which formed a large portion of the property, for the regulation of the cost of public

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worship and the payment of its ministers, and for the mode of payment of the claims of private individuals or the clergy. They represented that, in charging the Municipalities with the sale of this property, they would be running the risk of seeing it fall into dilapidation, and of saddling the State with the cost of public worship and with private liabilities.

The ardent desire of the Assembly for the dispossession of the clergy would scarcely permit it to listen to any of the arguments brought against the proposition of M. Bailly. It was converted into a decree, with the addition of the nomination of twelve Commissioners selected from the Assembly for the purpose of estimating, in concert with the Municipality, the value of the property handed over to the latter. It, as well as the other Municipalities, was besides compelled to offer this property for sale at once, and to knock it down to the highest bidder so soon as any purchaser presented himself who would give the reserve fixed by the Commission. The Assembly did not care to accept the 400,000,000 francs offered by the clergy on condition that the disposal of this property should be left to them. A member of the Left naïvely gave a reason for this to a friend of mine, who contended that such a sum might free the State. "That may be," he replied, "but the clergy would not be destroyed."

Dom Gerle, in order to shut the mouths of those who asserted that the destruction of the clergy would bring about that of religion, and would permit the

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admission of every sect into France, proposed a resolution that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion should always remain the religion of the State, and that its worship alone should be authorised. MM. de Menou, de Lameth, and de Mirabeau opposed this resolution, and with pompous derision made their profession of attachment to the Catholic religion, saying that it would be an insult to the Assembly to doubt its sentiments towards a religion whose worship appeared at the head of the public expenditure. After a lively discussion between the members of the Assembly, Dom Gerle withdrew his motion, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

Not content with having despoiled the Church of all its property, it wished also to change the form of its Constitution, and to arrogate to itself the regulation of what concerned its ministers. It made a new distribution of bishoprics, suppressed a great number of them, declared that for the future the priests, and even the bishops, should be appointed by the people, and deprived the latter of all authority over the priests, and all power in their dioceses. This was the last blow it could strike against religion; and it was easy to see that in degrading the clergy, and rendering them powerless to do any good, it would cause them to lose all consideration in the eyes of the people, who, from contempt of its ministers, would speedily pass to contempt of religion.

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The Abbé Maury, and several other distinguished members of the clergy, discussed all the articles of the Constitution with wisdom and moderation, and they clearly proved that it was inadmissible in the Catholic religion, and that it would be the cause of trouble by reason of the uneasiness it would produce in consciences generally. But it was a foregone conclusion, and in spite of the protest of the clergy, and a large number of members of the Assembly, that they would take no part in the decree to be pronounced with this object, the Civil Constitution of the clergy was voted by a majority of the Assembly. Its result justified only too clearly the fears it inspired. The people, after having passed from contempt of the clergy to contempt of religion, ended by having none, and we are now reaping the sad harvest of that abuse of all restraint and every principle.

The Assembly then turned to the incomes of the clergy themselves and other beneficiaries, and decreed that in future the salary of bishops and archbishops should be fixed at 12,000 francs; that of the *curés* at 1200 francs, exclusive of their fees, which were allowed to remain as they were; that of the country vicars at 700 francs, and the vicars in towns were allowed to remain as they were.

As it was impossible to effect such a reduction in the cases of bishops and *curés* who had up to that time enjoyed such different incomes, it decided that the bishops and archbishops whose revenues exceeded

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12,000 francs should retain, in addition to this amount, half their actual income, provided that it did not exceed 30,000 francs, as well as their episcopal residence and gardens attached. The pensioners, dignitaries, canons, and other holders of benefices were treated in like manner, the Archbishop of Paris alone retaining an income of 73,000 francs. The *curés* whose income exceeded 1200 francs retained, in addition to this amount, half their surplus income, provided that it did not exceed 600 francs, and their houses and gardens attached.

The Chevalier de Boufflers, and MM. Malouet, Rewbell, Clermont-Tonnerre, and several others, made futile representations against the injustice of depriving prelates, who had enjoyed considerable incomes, of the power to pay off debts, which the majority of them had contracted for purposes of charity or public utility, and of defrauding creditors who had dealt in good faith and on the guarantee of property regarded as inviolable. Insults and sarcasms were the replies given to the arguments adduced in favour of the clergy, and those who were beneficed were despoiled. Bishops over seventy-five years of age were granted a salary of 18,000 francs, and their maximum was, moreover, increased by one-third; the deposed bishops had only one-third of the salary allotted to those who were retained.

It must not be forgotten that the clergy took no part in the discussion on these salaries; they contented themselves with defending whatever con-

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cerned the groundwork of religion, and displayed throughout the sittings of the Assembly, and especially on this occasion, dignity and disinterestedness above all praise.

The Assembly did not stop at the proposal of M. Bailly; it decreed in addition the sale of all the national domains, other than the forests and those which the King might think proper to reserve to himself; and in order to accelerate the sale of the church property, it decreed that every private individual, without distinction, should be entitled to purchase national property. The Abbé Maury, M. Cazalès, and many others, pointed out cogently that the creditors of the clergy and the holders of church property should have the preference, and that this measure would bring about the dilapidation of that property, and would only benefit speculators and capitalists. They were not listened to, and the decree was passed.

The Assembly, in spite of the remonstrances of a large number of its members, decreed in like manner the alienation of the royal domains. In vain was it proved that this was the patrimony of our Kings; it would listen to nothing, and even went so far as to extend this measure to any inheritance which might subsequently fall to them, and which at their death would come within the category of royal domains.

The same thing happened in regard to the freedom of commerce with India, in spite of the observations of a large number of business men who

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represented, but in vain, that such a decree would ruin our commerce and give the English an enormous advantage, by which they would profit at our expense.

But the most incredible circumstance was the fact that, in a couple of hours, a decree was passed suppressing all the existing tribunals throughout the kingdom. The Assembly adopted the conclusions of M. Thouret, the reporter of the Committee of the Constitution, without allowing any discussion on the danger of giving France over to anarchy by so sudden a destruction, or on the immense debt with which it would be saddled by the reimbursement of the finances of each office of the magistrature.

Denunciations multiplied, and the intriguers found the part of informer so profitable that they gave themselves up to it with pleasure. The secretary of the Count de Maillebois and his valet, hoping to make some personal profit out of the various ideas which their master had put on paper and given to his secretary to copy, substituted the copy for the original, and with the latter denounced him to the Committee of Inquiry. "We do not ask for anything," they said, "and we merely wish to fulfil the most sacred of duties by denouncing M. de Maillebois for the good of the country." They had just shame enough left to notify to the Count that, having found employment in Paris, they would not return to him. He went to his writing desk, and finding only a copy of his papers, he had his horses put to his carriage and started at once for Holland, being unwilling to

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risk a long period of imprisonment before he could prove his innocence.

The Assembly, not wishing to be presided over by Members of the Right, and discontented at seeing the Count de Virieu succeed the Marquis de Bounai, conceived the idea, by way of getting rid of him, of proposing that he should make an addition to the ordinary oath in the form of an undertaking that he would never protest against any of the decrees of the Assembly. He consented, merely adding, "So long as they shall have been sanctioned by the King." This restriction was the cause of a great disturbance. The Left contended that the decrees passed by the Assembly were obligatory on all its members, even previous to their sanction by the King; the Right warmly advocated the opposite view. M. de Virieu, being unable to make himself heard, requested M. de Bounai to take his place until calm should be restored. He therefore resumed the presidency in order to assert his right, and raising his voice, he announced his resignation of the post in the interests of peace. The Assembly appointed the Abbé Goutte in his place. The latter, in a hypocritical tone, solemnly proclaimed that the object of the Assembly in making such a choice was to honour religion in the person of one of its ministers; and by way of thoroughly sustaining the character he was playing, when he quitted the presidency, he devoted his expression of gratitude to a disquisition on the incompatibility of riches with religion.

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The appointment of judges occasioned violent debates. A proposition was made that they should be appointed by the King on the nomination of three subjects. The Left opposed this, as well as a motion that they should be irremovable. Still fearing lest too much authority should be given to the King, the Assembly decreed that the judges should be named by the people for six years, and should be eligible for re-election at the expiration of that term; that the King should be bound to accept them, and that they should only receive their formal appointment from him. The Court of Appeal, which, it was suggested, should move from place to place, was finally declared to be sedentary, and the nomination of the public ministry alone was reserved to the King.

Disturbances continued in the kingdom; the troops revolted against their officers, many of whom lost their lives in endeavouring to uphold the authority of the King. The massacre of M. de Voisins, Commandant at Valence, found supporters in the Assembly under the pretext that the opinions of that officer were a source of uneasiness to the people.

M. de Saint Priest wrote to the Assembly an account of the excesses which were being committed in Marseilles. The mob had taken possession of the Fort de la Garde and the citadel of Saint Nicolas through the incompetency of M. Calvit, the Commandant. M. de Beausset, commanding in Fort Saint Jean, had, on the contrary, sturdily refused to surrender it, and had courageously declared that he

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would die rather than fail in his duty. When ordered to appear before the Municipality to give an account of his conduct, he saw clearly that the populace were only waiting for him to leave the fort to put him to death; but as he did not wish to give his enemies any hold upon him, he consented to appear, after having put his affairs in order and written his farewell to his family. He had scarcely left the fort before the populace fell upon him and massacred him in the midst of the Municipal guards sent to conduct him to the Municipality. M. de Saint Priest concluded this sad account by requesting that M. de Crillon should be appointed Commandant at Marseilles, in the room of the Marquis de Miran, who had resigned. The Assembly refused, on the ground that he was a deputy, although the Duke de Biron occupied a similar position in Corsica, on the occasion of the murder of the Count de Reuilly when the Viscount de Barrin resigned.

The right minded portion of the Assembly demanded justice for this cruel outrage, so contrary to every law, and in itself such a flagrant attack upon the authority of the King. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld, M. d'André, and several others spoke strongly upon the necessity of punishing such heinous crimes, and upon the danger of allowing Municipalities to shirk their duties under pretence of preserving their popularity; and they gave their opinion that the Municipality should be summoned to the bar of the Assembly to explain their conduct.

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M. de Mirabeau appeared for the defence. He maintained that illegality was not a crime, and that to order the Municipality to appear at the bar was to prejudge it to be guilty. He likened the two days' disturbances at Marseilles to those of the 5th and 6th of October, and added that if Marseilles was to be punished, the axe should fall on the heads of the Parisians also. The Baron de Menou, in supporting the conclusions of M. de Mirabeau, urged the importance of changing all military commanders in order to replace them by officers devoted to the Revolution, and he denounced M. de Saint Priest as one of its enemies.

The Viscount de Mirabeau at once demanded that the disturbance at Marseilles should be dealt with by the judge ordered to take cognisance of the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October. The Count de Mirabeau exclaimed warmly that there was a desire to represent him as the instigator of these disturbances. "I gave," he said, "I am giving, and I will give peace to Marseilles; there is a desire to associate me with crime; let my accusers stand forth; let them denounce me to the Committee of Inquiry and unfold my crimes there." M. de Mirabeau must have been quite sure of the feeling of the Assembly before he dared to make use of such language; but he was too well aware of its indulgence in regard to crime to have any fear. The Assembly contented itself with expressing to the King its profound sorrow about the disturbances in Marseilles; with thanking him for the

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steps he had taken to remedy the excesses, and with referring the matter to the Committee of Reports.

There was also a riot at Toulon, having for its object the delivery of arms to the people and the release of imprisoned sailors. These demands for arms extended throughout all the ports of the kingdom, as did the risings of the populace to get possession of them. M. de Glandevès, who was forced to quit the Hôtel de la Marine, was at first detained at the Municipality, and the arsenal ran a great risk of being sacked. The King, in informing the Assembly of the Toulon revolt, demanded the punishment of the guilty, and requested that efficacious measures should be adopted to prevent the demands for arms which, extending as they did throughout the ports, might be productive of baneful results in regard to the preservation of the French navy. But the Assembly, having simultaneously received a letter from the Municipality of Toulon announcing that order had been restored and M. de Glandevès set at liberty, did nothing but refer the matter to the Committee of Reports.

M. de Montmorin wrote, in the name of the King, to the President of the Assembly, to announce to him that the existing differences between Spain and England compelled his Majesty, who was watching over the safety of the State, to arm fourteen ships of the line in the ports of the ocean and the Mediterranean, and even to be in readiness to increase the military armaments should circumstances

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so require; that in spite of the hope entertained by his Majesty that the differences between these two powers might be amicably arranged, France could not remain unarmed so long as England was armed; that the assistance we had received from Spain on every occasion, and especially in the last war, would not allow the King to doubt the eagerness of the Assembly to maintain the honour of the nation, and to vote the necessary supplies as soon as the actual requirements should be laid before it.

"You cannot," said the members of the Left, "vote supplies until after you have agreed as to the right of making peace or war, and especially so long as the negotiations are in the hands of a man so suspected by the nation as is the Duke de Vauguyon."

It was resolved that the King should be thanked for the steps he had taken for the maintenance of peace, and that, commencing from the following day, they should consider whether the right of peace or war belonged to the King or the nation.

Several members of the Right, including the Abbé Maury, MM. de Cazalès, de Montlosier, Malouet, the Abbé Montesquiou, and several others, forcibly maintained the necessity of leaving it to the King, and the advantage which would accrue to the nation therefrom. M. de Mirabeau even joined them on this occasion, but MM. de Lameth, Barnave, Rewbell, Dupont, de Nemours, Bionzac, Chapellier, de Custine, d'Aiguillon, and de Crillon advocated the

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opposite view with equal warmth. After very animated discussions, which lasted for a week, the Assembly decreed that peace or war could only be decided by a decree of the Assembly on the initiative of the King and sanctioned by him; that the care of watching over the safety of the kingdom belonged to the King alone; that to him belonged the maintenance of its rights and possessions, the maintenance also of political relations, and the appointment of representatives; the preparations for war by land and sea and the destination of operations; that if there should be any question of imminent hostilities, or of preserving an ally, the King should so inform the Corps Législatif, who would meet as speedily as possible if it was not sitting; that if it should be proved that war was brought about by any representative of the executive power, he should be regarded as guilty of treason to the nation, France solemnly refusing to undertake any conquest or to employ its forces against the liberty of any nation; that every declaration of war should be made in the name of the King and the nation, and that, in case of a refusal by the legislative power, he should be bound, the moment the war ended, to place the troops on a peace footing at a date to be fixed by the Corps Législatif, and that if the army remained on a war footing, the Minister should be proceeded against for treason to the nation; that to the King should appertain the power of signing all treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce with foreign Powers, which

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should only come into operation after sanction by the Corps Législatif.

The King was very much grieved by this decree. He regarded it as essential to the good of the State that the right of making peace or war should be reserved to him. But those members of the Assembly who only aspired to the destruction of the royal authority were not content with opposing the delegation to the King of this sovereign prerogative; before the promulgation of the decree, they assembled groups of their adherents outside the Assembly and the Tuileries in order to overawe the timid, and bring them over to their side. M. de la Fayette had promised to vote for the King on this occasion, but fearing lest he should lose his popularity, he and his partisans joined the opposing party, and he then left the Assembly at the head of the mob, and went along the terrace of the Tuileries at its head amid reiterated shouts of "Long live the nation!" The Queen, in order to avoid this continual noise outside her windows, took refuge in the entresol occupied by Madame, and there passed the afternoon. She had need of all her courage to bear these frequently repeated insults.

M. Bailly, who, as I have already said, had no idea of tact, thought he would pay the King a mark of respect by presenting him with one of the medals which the city had struck on the occasion of the residence of his Majesty in the capital. It represented the entry of the King into the Tuileries, and

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had as a motto the following words:—"I shall in future make this my habitual residence. October 6, 1789." "Sire," he said to the King, "these words, graven on bronze, are inscribed on the hearts of our citizens."

The medal he handed to the King was made of gold; to the Queen he gave a silver one, and he added, "That as the promise of the King assured the residence of the Queen and Mgr. the Dauphin, she was about to embellish by her presence a capital, the sole wish of whose inhabitants was to retain its Sovereigns within its walls." "And do you, Monseigneur," he said to the Dauphin, as he presented him with a bronze medal, "always love the King as we love him; follow in his footsteps and fulfil his promises." The Queen received with a blush a medal which brought back a recollection of a day which the city should have done its utmost to efface, rather than perpetuate a recollection of it, and she could not help saying to me, when M. Bailly had left her presence, that the King might well complain if the sentiments of his son should be based on those which were suggested to him.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE YEAR 1790.

Continuance of Disturbances in the Kingdom, and the Decree passed on this Subject—Civil List decreed by the Assembly—Removal to Saint Cloud—Suppression of the Nobility—Disorganisation of the Army—Disturbances originated at Avignon to bring about the Union of the Comtat with France—Inflammatory Petitions received by the Assembly—Protection given to the Rebels in various Provinces of the Kingdom.

M. DE SAINT PRIEST wrote again to the Assembly to complain of the Municipality of Marseilles, which was permitting the demolition of the Citadel. He pointed out the importance of preventing such an outrage, and drew attention to the fact that it would cost millions to rebuild it. The Assembly ordered the demolition to be stopped, and resolved that the King should be requested to give orders for the execution of the decree. The Municipality at once sent deputies to demand merely the demolition of the batteries which commanded the town and rendered the people uneasy, and they denounced M. de Saint Priest as the declared enemy of the town of Marseilles. The matter was referred to the Committee of Reports.

The Assembly was not so indulgent in regard to

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disturbances which took place at Nîmes with reference to the white cockades worn by citizens of the National Guard, and seized upon by the soldiers of the Guyenne regiment. Swords were being drawn on both sides, when M. de Marguerite, Mayor of Nîmes, who was at that moment signing an order forbidding the wearing of the white cockade, betook himself to the field of battle, and by his presence put an end to the strife. Men armed with pikes promenaded the town by torchlight throughout the night; the Guyenne regiment requested and obtained the proclamation of martial law, and the tumult ceased. The Assembly decreed that M. de Marguerite, although a deputy, should be ordered to appear at the bar to give an account of the conduct of the Municipality, and that the King should be asked not to send the Guyenne regiment away from Nîmes. Faithful servants of the King were sure of being accused, but, on the contrary, excuses were always forthcoming for the most blameworthy actions contrary to his authority.

His Majesty, in order to obviate disturbances which might arise owing to the various cockades which were being worn throughout the country, issued a proclamation forbidding the use of any cockade other than the national one, which he himself wore. He took advantage of this opportunity to exhort the French once more to peace, union, and the repression of the violence which was so deeply distressing to his paternal heart. No Prince ever

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loved his people more sincerely, or desired more ardently to remedy the calamities to which France was a prey. But some of his Ministers, attentive to their own safety and personal interests rather than to those of the King, and to the nation, which they always put in the foremost place, inspired in him such a dread of the measures he could have put in force for the preservation of his authority, that he believed the public good required him to remain absolutely inactive. He consequently refused to listen to the advice of those who represented to him the danger of adopting any such plan.

Those members of the Assembly who were hostile to the Monarchy, seeing that M. de Saint Priest was sincerely attached to the King, and suspecting him of giving his Majesty advice that might be injurious to their projects, set to work quietly to remove both him and such of his Ministers as they believed were capable of throwing obstacles in the way of their designs.

Paris was inundated with foreign beggars, who flocked thither from all parts. The Assembly decreed that they should leave the kingdom; that such as came from the Provinces should be sent back to their own districts; that all able-bodied beggars who should be found in Paris a week after the publication of the decree should be sent to the workhouses; that such as were ill or unable to work should be taken to the hospitals or other similar institutions; and that funds should be provided from the public

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treasury to meet the extraordinary expenses occasioned by the decree. It was a very necessary step, for there was everything to fear from such people, in regard to the safety both of the city and its inhabitants.

The Assembly also passed a decree quite as useful for the purpose of putting an end to the disturbances which were on the increase throughout the kingdom. They impressed on all good citizens the duty of denouncing to the Municipalities and other administrative bodies, those who incited the populace to use violence against persons or property, and sheltered themselves under pretended decrees of the Assembly which were not in proper form, and especially such as had not been published by competent authority. Priests who refused to announce from the pulpit the decrees of the Assembly sanctioned by the King were also to be denounced. Carrying arms was forbidden in elementary assemblies, in churches, in markets, or at public meetings.

This same decree placed all properties, artisans, and husbandmen under the protection of the law; it directed that all leaders of disturbances, instigators of riots, and generally all those who used violence against either persons or property, should be made prisoners and punished with the utmost rigour of the law, martial law included, and the citizens of each district were held responsible for all disturbances which they might be able to prevent.

Cognisance and judgment in regard to crimes com-

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mitted in the departments of Cher, l'Allier, la Nièvre, and la Corrèze, were remitted from the 1st of May inclusive to the bailiwicks of Bourges, Moulins, Saint Pierre le Moustier, and Limoges.

As the King was desirous of spending the summer at Saint Cloud, he was advised, previously to departing, to take a few rides in the suburbs of Paris. He therefore consented to ride in the Bois de Boulogne. He went there, attended by a few officers of the Garde Nationale and of his own household. The Parisians were delighted at this, hoping that the appearance of the King would put an end to the rumour of his captivity. The royal family also began to make their appearance in the capital, and this gave them some little distraction, very necessary to enable them to endure the bitterness of their position.

In one of the sittings devoted to the question of the finances, the Assembly settled the salaries of the Ministers and the expense of their departments; those of the department of Foreign Affairs were fixed at 6,300,000 livres, exclusive of 148,000 francs, the salary of the Minister. The salaries of the other Ministers were fixed at 100,000, except those who, having no department under them, were only Ministers of State, each of whom was to receive 80,000 francs, and in addition to this, 140,000 francs was proposed as the salary of the individual whom the King might choose to admit to his Council. Barnave moved that these salaries should only be provisional, and Goupil de

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Préfeln succeeded in getting the last clause reduced to 80,000 francs. It was resolved that the expenses of the army and naval departments should stand over until the Committees appointed to inquire into them should make their reports.

The breeding establishment was suppressed as a useless expense, and it was proposed that the expenses of the household of the Princes should be reduced from 8,240,000 francs to 4,700,000—2,000,000 for Monsieur, a similar sum for the Count d'Artois, and 700,000 francs for the Princes, his children; but this last-mentioned proposition was adjourned for further consideration, and the Assembly concluded by agreeing that the King should be requested to fix his Civil List himself.

The King finally decided to fix it at 25,000,000 francs, in addition to the revenues of the parks, domains, and forests of the residences he reserved, but out of this he undertook to pay the expenses of his military household, and those of the Princesses his aunts, and of Madame Elizabeth. He begged the Assembly to secure to the Queen an income suitable to her position, and such as the Empress had had a right to expect when she gave her daughter to him in marriage. He represented that she had just sacrificed her private household, which the Queen of France had had from time immemorial, amounting to four millions, and that he attached very much importance to fulfilling the engagements which he had contracted with the family of the Queen. The

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Assembly resolved that the letter of the King should itself be a decree; that an addition should be made to it to the effect that it had been passed with acclamation; that the jointure of the Queen should be fixed at 4,000,000 francs, and that the Assembly should convey to the King, together with this resolution, the assurances of its love and respect.

The Bishop of Autun made a report on the utility of a general federation of the entire kingdom for the purpose of taking an oath of solemn fidelity to the nation, the King, and the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and sanctioned by the King, and he proposed to fix the 14th of July as the date for this, which was agreed to on the spot.

On the 23d of May, the day of the Fête-Dieu, the King and Queen on foot, according to custom, followed the procession of the Holy Sacrament to Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, the parish church of the Tuileries. The Assembly, having received an invitation, also followed, the President walking on the right of the King. Madame, who was too young and too delicate to bear the fatigue, remained in the Tuileries, and with Mgr. the Dauphin witnessed the procession from the gallery of the Louvre.

On the following day the King, the Queen, Mgr. the Dauphin, Madame, and Madame Elizabeth went to Saint Cloud for the summer. M. de la Fayette and the Assembly were also very glad to see the King leave Paris, in order that the Provinces might be

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disabused of the idea of his captivity at the time of the Federation. They were so conscious of the necessity for this, that they themselves persuaded the people of the utility of the establishment, and the removal consequently passed off very quietly. The Guard of the King was composed of the volunteers of Saint Cloud and Sèvres, 400 men of the National Guard of Paris, and the ordinary companies of the Swiss Guards.

The King and Queen came to Paris every fortnight, and even more frequently if circumstances so required. The only people who resided at Saint Cloud were those on duty with the King and Queen, and the grand officers whose service was continuous. The ladies of the palace were only there during their terms of waiting. Monsieur and Madame came to supper every evening, and went back to Paris afterwards. The King, during their sojourn, declined to receive any lady other than those on duty, in order to avoid the requests which would have been made and would have been disagreeable. The ladies of Madame and the officers of the household of Monsieur, who accompanied them, had supper with the King.

His Majesty dined and supped every day with the members of his Court. After dinner and after supper he played billiards. Both he and the Queen enjoyed themselves at Saint Cloud far more than in Paris, because they had more liberty, and could now easily see those whom they liked. The Duchess de Fitz-james and the Princess de Tarente, of whom the

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Queen was very fond, came frequently, as did several others.

Mgr. the Dauphin, who was too young to have any troubles, amused himself there immensely. He was continually in the garden, and went every evening for a walk in the park at Meudon. The Queen sometimes took him for a walk herself, especially when Madame de Tarente was in waiting. She knew her discretion, the nobility of her sentiments, and her extreme attachment for herself. So great was this, in fact, that she would have sacrificed her life if she could, by that means, have extricated the Queen from the cruel position in which she was placed. Her Majesty often poured out her heart to one of whom she was so sure. One day, when she was walking with us and was surrounded by a party of the National Guard, some of whom were Guardsmen who had deserted their old colours, she said to us with tears in her eyes, "How astonished my mother would be if she could see her daughter, the daughter, wife, and mother of kings, or at all events of a child destined to be one, surrounded by such a guard! My father would appear to have had a prophetic spirit on the day when last I saw him." And she told us that the Emperor Francis I., on leaving for Italy, whence he was not destined to return, called his children together to take farewell of them. "I was the youngest of his daughters," she added. "My father took me on his knee, kissed me several times with tears in his eyes, and appeared

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to find it extremely hard to leave me. This seemed odd to those who were present, and I myself should perhaps not have remembered it if my present position, reminding me of the circumstance, did not give me a presentiment, for the rest of my life, of a succession of misfortunes only too easily foreseen."

The impression made upon us by these last words was so deep that we burst into tears. The Queen then said to me with her accustomed grace and goodness, "I reproach myself for having saddened you; calm yourselves before we reach the Castle; let us unite our courage. Providence will perhaps not make us as unhappy as we think."

It was impossible for the Queen to avoid comparing the happy days she had spent at Saint Cloud with those of her present stay. She frequently reflected upon it; and one day when we were together at the end of the Gallery, from which Paris is one of the principal sights, she said to me with a sigh, "That Paris life was formerly my happiness; I longed to live there often. Who could have told me then that my desire would only be accomplished by my there being overwhelmed with bitterness, seeing the King and his family the captives of a revolted people?"

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Destruction of the Nobility.

The King, when he was informed of the project of the Assembly to destroy the nobility, thought he might prevent such a measure, without wounding the susceptibilities of the Corps Legislatif, by causing a letter to be written to Chérin, instructing him in future not to receive any genealogical titles, which it was customary to send to him in regard to presentations at Court. In doing this he acted on advice which had been given him, but the expedient had not the anticipated success.

On the 23d of June the Assembly, taking advantage of a limited attendance at the evening sitting, decreed the suppression of the nobility without allowing any discussion on so important a subject. M. de Lameth opened the proceedings by demanding the removal, before the 14th of July, of the statues in chains around that of Louis XIV., as being monuments of slaves which disgraced the Place des Victoires. The Aubusson family in vain laid claim to them as family property, and the artists as masterpieces. The latter, grieved at such destruction, offered to remove the chains. "You cannot remove the attitude of humiliation," said M. Bouche. And M. de Saint Fargeau added, "We will equal the monuments of the century of Louis XIV., and that

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grand century will be effaced by the century of a great nation."

M. Lambel, an advocate, the Viscount de Noailles, and Mathieu de Montmorency, demanded the suppression of the nobility, hereditary titles, liveries, and coats of arms; and Charles de Lameth added, that all who continued to bear them should be looked upon as enemies of the Constitution. "No more highness, excellency, or eminence!" shouted Lanjuinais. "Let all territorial names be suppressed," said M. de Saint Fargeau, "and let everybody be compelled to resume that of his family."

M. de la Fayette opposed every kind of exception, even in the case of Princes of the blood. According to him, in the system of equality which was about to rule France, there ought only to be active citizens. His revolutionary spirit blinded him to such an extent that he could not perceive that, in a hereditary Monarchy, in which females were excluded, the dignity of the Crown required that those who were called upon to support it should enjoy a rank which would compel respect. An adjournment was moved on account of the gravity of the question, but it was obstinately opposed.

M. Landsberg, a deputy of Alsace, spoke with wisdom and moderation, and declared that, as he was certain to be disavowed by his constituents, he would keep his sorrow to himself. "In submission," he said, "to the decrees of the Assembly, they will know that they live with the blood with which they

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were born, and that nothing can prevent them living and dying as gentlemen." "If you destroy the nobility," said M. de Fancigny, "you will have in its place the distinctions of bankers, usurers, stock-jobbers, and proprietors of incomes of 300,000 francs, and the love of wealth will replace French honour, the soul of the nobility."

In spite of the opposition of MM. d'Egmont, d'Ambli, de Grosbois, de Digoine, and many others, all these motions were agreed to without discussion. The only reservation was a prohibition against any interference with monuments in churches, charts, title-deeds, information concerning families and property, or the decorations of any public or private place; and it was added that the regulations relative to liveries and carriages should not be put in force in Paris before the 14th of July, or before three months in the Provinces.

The army became more and more disorganised day by day. The Royal Marine regiment, on leaving Marseilles for Lambesc, got rid of all its officers, recommending them to the interest of the nation. The Municipality vainly endeavoured to recall the mutineers to their duty. The Assembly merely testified its satisfaction to the Municipality of Lambesc, and threatened the regiment, that if it did not return to its duty it should be excluded from the federation.

The Minister of War complained in vain of the inconvenience which might result from crimes of so

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grave a character. Deeply hurt by the carelessness of the Assembly, he submitted to it a memorandum, which forcibly represented that the army threatened to fall into the most violent anarchy. Whole regiments were in revolt, and were violating their most solemn oaths. "Regulations," he said, "were without force, commanding officers without authority, the military chests and the colours carried off, the officers dishonoured, despised, and frequently prisoners; commanding officers murdered before the eyes of their own men, and the orders of the King openly defied. Such excesses," he added, "must sooner or later menace the nation itself. An armed force must necessarily be obedient and moved by one person alone; from the moment it becomes a deliberative body it will act in accordance with its own resolutions, and the Government will become a military democracy, a species of political monster, which inevitably ends by devouring its own produce."

The Assembly cared but little about remedying these disturbances; it was afraid of seeing in the hands of the King a faithful and obedient army, which might be an obstacle in the way of its designs; and it preferred to see the country overwhelmed by the evils which were threatening it, rather than witness any restriction being placed on authority which it so cruelly abused.

The narratives, even though anonymous, of the instigators of the disturbances, were alone listened to; and before hearing the defence of the accused,

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decrees were hastily passed in favour of the former. M. Macage, entrusted with the report relative to the disturbances at Nîmes, attempted to mix them up with the petitions previously presented by the town of Uzès in favour of the preservation of the Catholic religion, the repression of disturbances, and the delegation to the King of the authority necessary to secure these objects.

This last request had irritated the Assembly, and had been stigmatised by MM. de Lameth and Mirabeau as tending to produce a counter revolution. They deemed it useful to couple this step with the disturbances at Nîmes, and they consequently produced anonymous letters written to the Committee of Inquiry, which, according to their view, should be received as serving to throw some light upon the plans of the so-called Catholics of Nîmes, and to put them on their track.

MM. Malouet, d'Eprémênil, and others protested against the term *so-called Catholics*, and pointed out, but in vain, that there would be no liberty if no representation could be made to the Assembly; that the disturbances were quelled at Nîmes; that the elections there were passing off quietly; and that it would be dangerous to disturb, by reason of mere suppositions, the tranquillity re-established in that town. These wise remarks made no impression on the Assembly, and it resolved that those who had signed the petitions should be ordered to appear at the bar to give an account of their conduct, and

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should up to that time be deprived of their rights as active citizens. It suspended the Municipality, and begged the King to order an investigation into the facts before the Court of Judicature at Nîmes.

There were no means which the revolutionists did not employ to bring about the reunion of the Comtat of Avignon with France. But the General Assembly of the States of Avignon, the mouthpiece of the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of the Comtat, persisted in its resolve to remain under the dominion of the Holy See, protested against every step tending to separate it, declared that its citizens wished to live and die under a rule which rendered them quiet and happy, and invoked the eternal right of nations in order not to be compelled to change.

Nevertheless, the ardent and turbulent spirits, who only desired the union in order to seize upon the power, never ceased from instigating disturbances in Avignon. Within four months this unhappy town was delivered up to all the horrors of anarchy.

A certain Tournal, originally a schoolmaster—a man without morals or money—placed himself at the head of those who wished to rouse the mob, and by their help he succeeded in getting himself appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the National Guard and a member of the new Municipality, which for the most part consisted of his creatures. This latter body persecuted all the honest and virtuous people, and held them responsible for the excesses of which

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their own party were the authors. In order to secure protection in the Assembly, they entered into correspondence with MM. Bouche and Camus, and in combination with them framed the demand they intended making for the union of the Comtat with France.

After having provoked those in the town whom they knew to be hostile to their projects, and compelled them to defend themselves, they accused them of being the instigators of the disturbances committed on the days of the 9th and 10th, and the Municipality wrote to M. Bouche in these terms :— "The aristocrats seized the guns, opened fire on the people, and killed thirty citizens. The Communes of Orange and the neighbourhood fortunately came to our assistance. We killed four of the wretches, and brought four-and-twenty prisoners from Orange. Our only hope of safety lies in our union with France. The declarations of the districts are unanimous in its favour, and we pray the Assembly to comply with so pronounced a wish."

The Assembly, without further information, resolved to acquaint the King with the declaration of the districts of Avignon.

The wish of the Municipality alone had been heard, and there was but little desire to fathom its truth. The Marquis de Rochegude, one of the so-called wretches who fell victims to the popular fury, had been ill for a week, and could not appear on the 10th. The patriots went and seized him at his own

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house, conducted him to the gallows at the point of the bayonet, and prolonged his punishment for the space of an hour, in order to increase the enjoyment of witnessing his sufferings. He, the Abbé d'Auffroi, a silk worker, and the Marquis d'Aulan, who succumbed to a similar fate, were all four virtuous men, and generally esteemed in the town. The last mentioned especially employed his fortune in succouring the unfortunate, and when his will was read, it was found that he had left a legacy of 20,000 francs for the poor of the town and seven louis for each of its parishes. If it had not been for the generous assistance of the Mayor of Orange, and the National Guard of that place, Bagnols, and the neighbouring towns, more than three hundred respectable citizens would have shared the same fate. In order to put an end to these horrors, they were obliged to treat with these wretches, and surrender their arms to them. Avignon was plunged in consternation; four hundred of the best families of the town left, in order to avoid being exposed to the consequences of the calumnies which Sieur Tournal incessantly circulated in regard to them.

If it had been possible to smile amid so many horrors, the scene which took place at an evening sitting of the Assembly might well have caused it. Anacharsis Clootz, calling himself the orator of the human race, arrived at the Assembly at the head of a crowd of so-called representatives of all the nations of the known world—Europeans, Asiatics, Africans,

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and Americans. It was, in a word, a small sample of all the nations of these various countries which had come to unite itself to France, whose immortal labours resounded throughout the world. "We ask," they said, "to be placed in the Champ de Mars on the day of the General Federation, to plant there the cap of liberty as the earnest of the forthcoming deliverance of our fellow-citizens. Our letters of credit are not written on parchment; they are engraven on the hearts of all men, and, thanks to the authors of the declaration of the rights of man, our signs are not accessible to tyrants."

M. de Menou, who was then President, made a speech befitting the occasion, and bade them farewell in these words:—"Go, gentlemen, and after this august *fêté* return to your countries, and tell your leaders that, if their hearts are jealous of following a great example, let them imitate Louis XVI., the restorer of French liberty."

But the most amusing sight was that of one of the organisers of this scene going, on the following day, to claim from M. de Biancourt the sum of twelve francs for the part of African which he had played in the sitting of the previous evening. This poor man had mistaken the name, and his blunder, by displeasing the party who had employed him, probably caused him to lose the paltry sum he claimed.

The faithful servants of the King continued to be the objects of persecution by the malevolent, who,

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sure of paternal indulgence in the bosom of the Assembly, permitted continual arrests on the most improbable information.

The Count de Lautrec, a deputy, stopped at the Castle of Blegnac on his way to the waters of Baréges, and was very much astonished to find himself arrested by a warrant from the Municipality of Toulouse, under the pretext of a denunciation by their soldiers, who pretended that M. de Lautrec, after having informed them of his projects of counter revolution, had proposed to them that they should enlist in a *corps* of 800 men, which he was secretly forming for the purpose of dissolving the General Federation and restoring authority to the King. M. d'Amblé in vain pointed out the absurdity of such a denunciation, and the fact that the state of health of M. de Lautrec, occasioned by fifteen honourable wounds, rendered the waters necessary for him. Notwithstanding this, the Assembly ordered him to return to give an account of his conduct, reserving to itself the decision as to whether there was any ground of accusation, and it passed a resolution thanking the Municipality of Toulouse for its patriotic vigilance.

Robespierre, supported by Péthion, thought the occasion opportune for a resolution that deputies should not be brought before any tribunal before the Assembly had decreed that they ought to be prosecuted. The elder Garac observed that their immunity could not be extended outside the Assembly, and that everywhere else their actions ought to be

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subservient to the law. It was decreed that, until the introduction of juries in criminal cases, deputies taken in the act might be arrested, and that complaints could be lodged and inquiry instituted in regard to them, but that they could not be condemned by any judge until the Assembly had decided that there was ground of accusation.

Viscount de Mirabeau had obtained leave of absence to proceed to Perpignan for the purpose of putting a stop to the insubordination which was rife in his regiment. Having failed in his efforts, he returned to Paris, bringing with him the tassels of his colours in order to hand them to the King, to beg him to restore them to the men who had remained loyal, and to concentrate them in some distant town, where they might form the nucleus of a loyal regiment. The men, furious at this proceeding, held the Mayor of Perpignan responsible for it, and gave notice to the neighbouring Municipalities to arrest the Viscount as guilty of the crime of treason to the nation. He was actually arrested on that charge at Castelnaudary, and several members of the Municipality of Perpignan made a report to the Assembly of the wrongs that were imputed to him. But the Assembly, having on the following day received a letter from M. Mirabeau, ordered him to be set at liberty, in spite of the efforts of his enemies to secure his conviction. It, however, ordered him to present himself without delay and give an account of his conduct, and it added that the King had been

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requested to order the release of the Mayor of Perpignan, who had been put in prison.

The libellers on this occasion published their usual lies, and distributed a pamphlet, entitled, "Great Conspiracy of the Viscount Mirabeau." MM. Malouet and de Cazalès took advantage of this opportunity to demand that a stop should be put to the circulation of these inflammatory libels, the object of which was neither more nor less than the assassination of the Viscount de Mirabeau. The Assembly decreed that the King should be requested to take the necessary steps for his safety, that his person should be placed under the safeguard of the law, and that the rest of the matter should be referred to the Committee of Reports.

Viscount de Mirabeau presented himself before the Assembly the moment he arrived, and there read a written account of the frightful insubordination of his regiment, and the acts of violence perpetrated against himself by the removal from his quarters of the colours and the military chest, adding that he had thought it his duty to hide the tassels for the purpose of handing them over to the King, and that he would never have given them up if he had not feared that his refusal might have cost the life of so respectable a man as the Mayor of Perpignan. He demanded to be tried by court-martial, undertaking to produce proofs of the manner in which his regiment had been gained over and bribed. "I will give," he added, "a clue to the disturbances which

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have been perpetrated from Antibes to Dunkerque, and from Perpignan to Strasbourg." The Assembly, instead of acceding to his request, remitted it to the Committee of Reports, combined with a military committee.

A deputation from Seine et Oise, which came to congratulate the Assembly on its propitious labours, went so far as to devote to execration and infamy all who dared to remonstrate against its decrees. All the Members of the Right rose to demand justice for this outrage, which was equally revolting to many Members of the Left. "Where should we be," said M. Malouet, "if such direct insults should determine the Right to leave the Assembly, and what misfortunes might not result?" The Assembly dared not receive such audacity with the honours of the sitting, and simply thanked the deputation for its zeal and patriotism.

The Bishop of Nancy and the Marquis de Saint Simon having requested leave of absence, M. Lucas proposed that in future the roll should be called, so that it might be ascertained who were absent, and that a list of their names should be sent to the Provinces. M. Rewbell went so far as to add that this measure would be all the more useful because of the public rumour that many of the deputies absented themselves from motives of cowardice. The Duke de Caylus, who had also requested leave of absence, asked M. Rewbell to call upon him and tell him privately if he thought him a coward. M. Rewbell, who had

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no liking for a conversation of this kind, declared that he did not allude to anybody in particular; that if he had had that misfortune he would maintain the remark that he had made; but as that was not the case, he had no hesitation in denying it. The motion of M. Lucas was also treated as inflammatory by very many Members of the Assembly, which passed to the order of the day without further discussion.

M. Arthur Dillon announced a very alarming insurrection in the Island of Tobago. The second batallion of the Guadeloupe regiment, after having committed serious excesses, set fire to the town of Port Louis, which was completely burnt, and then embarked on board some foreign vessels for France. He represented the cruel situation of this unfortunate colony, which begged France to come to its rescue, and at once send to it men and money, of both of which it stood in the most urgent need. Robespierre wished to discredit the news, but its truth was so evident that no doubt about it could exist. The Assembly merely asked the King to despatch the assistance required by the unfortunate colony.

It listened with greater complacence to a motion made by several Members of the Assembly, some of whom asked for an amnesty for the deserters, as well as for leave for them to rejoin their regiments, and others for the release of the men arrested for military insubordination. Some idea may be gained of the spirit of the Assembly when it is recorded that such

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motions, instead of being rejected with indignation, were referred to the Committee of Reports. That of the incendiaries of the barriers of Paris in 1789 had still more success. Condemned to arrest, they implored the clemency of the Assembly. Muguet de Nautou, the reporter, decided to regard the crime as an outburst of patriotism, similar to that which had led to the destruction of the Bastille, and to throw on this occasion a veil over the law. The Assembly, taking these motives into consideration, decreed that the proceedings should be regarded as not having occurred, and ordered the release of the prisoners.

The citizens of Avignon, who were shut up in the prisons of the town of Orange, and were absolutely innocent of the imputations brought against them by the Municipality of Avignon, demanded their release; but Robespierre opposed it, on the ground of their opposition to the principles of their fellow-citizens, who prayed for the union of the Comtat with France; and M. Bouche inveighed violently against the inhabitants of the unhappy town, which he described, as well as the Comtat Venaissin, as a den of aristocrats. He pretended that the disturbances of Avignon coincided with those of Montauban and Nîmes, and that the prisons of Orange were only the lazaretto of the aristocracy. He asked that a regiment should be sent to Orange and troops to Avignon to protect the place, pending a decision on the great question of its sovereignty. He concluded his speech by insisting on the necessity of protecting the post horses and salt

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and tobacco stores belonging to France. It may be assumed, and not uncharitably, from his speech, that he had reasonable grounds for fearing that his *protégés* would pillage the establishments in question.

The Abbé Maury stoutly pointed out the discrepancy between this request and the decree which proclaimed that France, renouncing all idea of conquest, assured her neighbours that she would protect them in preference to making any attack on their liberty; adding that this apparent protection presaged the decision on the sovereignty of Avignon. He proved that there was no connection between the disturbances of Avignon and those of Nîmes and Moutauban, seeing that there was not a single Protestant in Avignon; and while urgently soliciting the despatch of assistance to Orange, he opposed with all his might that requested for Avignon. The Assembly decreed that the King should be asked to send a suitable number of troops to Orange, and that a committee should be appointed to inquire into and report upon the Avignon affair.

After a delay of two months, M. Troucher at last furnished the report of the Committee on the events at Avignon, the request for its union to France made by the districts of that town, and that from the prisoners at Orange. He showed that the union could not be carried out without violating both divine and human laws, and he recapitulated the arguments of the Abbé Maury against the step. MM. Malouet and de Clermont-Tonnerre also spoke

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against the union so strongly that their adversaries had no reply to make. They were equally successful in representing the injustice of the continued imprisonment of citizens against whom no charge had been made. These arguments decided the Assembly to adjourn the request for union with France, and to decree the release of the prisoners of Orange, on condition that they should remain in the town under the safeguard of the French nation, which undertook to provide for the subsistence of such noblemen as there might be among them.

Nevertheless, the authors of the Avignon disturbances did not sleep. They set on foot fresh measures to bring the Comtat Venaissin over to their side. Enraged at their want of success in provoking a rising, they managed to initiate a movement in the little town of Thor, and if it had not been for the militia of the district, much blood would have been shed. The leaders of the militia took advantage of this concentration to deliver Cavaillon from the frightful yoke under which that town was groaning. A band of miscreants had seized upon the reins of power there, and had placed at their head a man named Tournal, an old soldier, who was in correspondence with the municipal authorities of Avignon. This wretch, in order to terrify the town, had had an enormous gallows erected in front of the Commune, in which he had fastened eight iron hooks, at the same time distributing lists of the proscribed in the town. The whole of the militia of the neighbouring

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districts—amounting in all to three thousand men—entered Cavaillon, pulled down the gallows, re-established order in the village, and handed over the author of all its misfortunes to justice. They then were anxious to deliver Avignon from its oppression; but M. d'Aimar, the Mayor of the place, fearing that still greater misfortunes might result, succeeded in turning them from their project. The municipal authorities continued to foster a continual fermentation, and, under the pretext of watching over the public safety, they imposed excessive taxes on all citizens absent or present.

Complaints came from all parts of the kingdom of the refusal of the peasants to pay tithes and champart, which they had no right to avoid until the mode of reimbursement should be fixed. The Assembly decided that private individuals should be authorised to enforce payment by legal means. But this decree was really illusory; not one Municipality dared to put it in force, for fear of compromising itself and becoming in its turn a victim. The taxes were no longer paid; disturbances multiplied, and there were in several places in the kingdom, notably in Lyon, seditious movements, which were with difficulty repressed. Power had been placed in the hands of the Municipalities, but as it was exercised by men who were terrified, and but little desirous of fulfilling their duties, it became impossible to remedy all these disorders. Several Municipalities arrogated to themselves the right of opening letters, even those of

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foreign Powers, and stopped travellers who had the misfortune to be suspected by them. Those of Dauphiné, neighbours of Savoy, even more ardent and more restless than the others, showed their patriotism by continual arrests. The conduct of the Assembly in regard to the Municipality of Montauban was not calculated to induce them to behave well.

The agitators of that town could not forgive the Municipality for having maintained order and tranquillity. On the other hand, the National Guard, furious on account of the keys of the Arsenal being taken from M. Dupuis-Montbrun, its Commandant, and an ardent patriot, instigated a movement in the town, which, it is true, was promptly repressed, but in which blood was shed. The National Gaurd sent a denunciation against the Municipality to the Assembly. This denunciation, although anonymous, with the exception of a letter from M. Dupuis-Montbrun, was nevertheless received by the Assembly eagerly.

The Committee of Reports, to whom the investigation of this affair was entrusted, began by putting aside the report of the Judge of Montauban. He, however, had taken the precaution, in order to avoid all suspicion, to summon the Protestants to his assistance, and make them give their evidence alternately with the Catholics; but the Assembly could not forgive this Municipality for the affection it preserved for the King, and its request for the maintenance of the

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Catholic religion, its bishop and its school. It was with great difficulty that the Assembly was induced to listen to the Mayor and the Procureur-syndic of the Commune, who had come to Paris to justify themselves. The charges brought against them, thirty in number, had not even been communicated to them, and an attempt was made to try them without hearing them.

The Abbé Maury and M. Cazalès could not obtain a hearing for the proofs they brought forward in opposition to the charges against the Municipality. With great difficulty they obtained a delay of two days, although it was palpably impossible to reply to so large a number of imputations in so short a time. "No delay," exclaimed Charles de Lameth; "they ought to have been judged long ago in the sense of the Revolution." This phrase so horrified the Assembly that he was obliged to explain away the meaning of the imprecation he was not ashamed to utter.

Judgment was pronounced in advance. The proofs furnished by the Municipality were not listened to; the verdict was in favour of the National Guard, and amid the utmost uproar the decree was passed suspending the Municipality, and referring the proceedings to the criminal tribunal of Toulouse. The people in the galleries, who had participated in the disorder which reigned throughout the Assembly, applauded the decree with hands and voices.

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CHAPTER V.

THE YEAR 1790—THE FEDERATION.

After the passing of the decree in regard to the General Federation of the Kingdom on the 14th of July, the Assembly devoted itself to arranging everything in connection with the ceremony.

It resolved that nobody could hold simultaneous command of the National Guard of several Departments, even reserving to itself the right of considering whether it would not be better to restrict the command to a single district. This clause resulted from the alarm caused by officers who were popular in their Departments, and whose presence in Paris made the Assembly uneasy.

It resolved that each district of the kingdom should send one per two hundred of its population, chosen by deputies assembled for that purpose; that each regiment should depute an officer and a non-commissioned officer present with the *corps* and chosen by seniority, as well as four men per infantry, and two troopers per cavalry regiment; that the other *corps* should send in the same proportion. The regiment of the King and the Swiss Guard were

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represented twice as strongly by reason of their numbers. All the *corps* in the kingdom of every description not embodied, and the Military Household of the King and the Princes, were to be represented respectively by their senior officers.

The Engineers, Navy, Invalides, Commissariat, and the Gendarmerie throughout France were to be represented by deputies selected from each one of these *corps* according to length of service, as well as the Constable.

The Marshals of France, Lieutenant-Generals, Major-Generals, and Naval officers of corresponding rank, were to be represented by the senior officer in each grade. M. de Champagny moved successfully, in spite of the opposition of M. de Lameth, that M. d'Albert de Rioms should be present at the Federation as representing his squadron.

There were lengthy debates in the Assembly in regard to the ceremonial of the Federation, and especially to decide if the King should take the title of King of the French, or that of first French citizen; if he should be called Chief of the Army or of all the National Guards of the Kingdom; what should be the nature of the oath he was to take; and if anybody besides the King should have a distinctive place at the Federation.

The Abbé Maury and M. Cazalès strongly urged the inconvenience of such debates, and forcibly pointed out that it was an insult to the royal majesty to raise any question as to whether, in a here-

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ditary monarchy, the King had need of a decree to constitute him chief of the national forces, and that it was inconceivable that there should be any doubt as to whether a family called in succession to the throne could be mixed up in a crowd of citizens. "The King," they added, "ought not to take any oath different from that taken by the nation." "It is for him," exclaimed M. de Folleville, "to dictate the oath he ought to take." "And as our Kings," said M. Malouet, "derived their power from the nation before the present laws were put in force, it ought to be expressly stated that the power is delegated to him by the nation and the Constitutional law."

This argument, which gave the nation and the King rights anterior to the existence of the Assembly, was exposed and opposed by Barnavé. The Assembly consequently decreed that the King should be requested to take command of the National Guards and the other troops of the kingdom, and to nominate the officers to take command under his orders; that at the Federation of the 14th of July the President should be placed on the right of the King, *with nobody between them*, and the deputies on the right and left of the King without distinction; that his Majesty should be requested to give orders for suitable places to be allotted to his family; that as soon as the oath should have been taken by the deputies of the National Guard and the other troops of the kingdom, the President should stand up, and in a loud voice

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pronounce the oath of the 4th of February; and that the oath taken by the King should be in these terms:—"I, King of the French, swear to employ all the power delegated to me by the constitutional laws of the State to the maintenance of the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and sanctioned by me."

During the debate on the Ceremonial of the Federation, the Bishop of Clermont declared that he expressly excepted from the oath he was about to take, all things depending on the Supreme Power; that any dissimulation would be a crime in a man whose calling was sacred, and that the exception he made was the surest guarantee of his fidelity to what he should have sworn. All the Bishops of the Right, and a great number of both clergy and laity, immediately rose to express their adhesion to the sentiments of the Bishop of Clermont.

The Parisians thought themselves obliged to issue an address to the French generally to invite them to rally together round the law on the day of the General Federation, in order to contribute to the establishment of the Constitution. "We should have been right glad to swear this propitious alliance with you," they said, "in which we are all joined under the one name of Frenchmen, to the uttermost boundaries of France, even if we did not possess within our walls our legislators and the King. Let us all rally round them on that auspicious 14th of July, the day when we shall have conquered liberty.

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Let us swear to uphold it, and let all France resound with reiterated shouts of "Long live the Nation, the Law, and the King!" This address was signed by MM. de la Fayette; Bailly; Charron, the President of the Commune; Lafitte and Pastoret, Secretaries; and by the assembled citizens of the districts of Paris.

It was very necessary that, under these circumstances, the Assembly should honour the conduct of the conquerors of the Bastille. It consequently resolved that, full of esteem for their courage, they would assign them an honourable place at the Federation of July; that each one of them should be supplied with a complete uniform and arms; that on the blade of each sword and barrel of each musket should be inscribed the words, *Presented to* ——, *Conqueror of the Bastille;* and that an honourable certificate should be given to each of them and to the widows of those who had fallen.

The Duke d'Orleans sent a letter to the Assembly by M. de la Touche to inform it that his mission was finished. He had written to the King to say that he was preparing to return to Paris, but M. de la Fayette sent word to him by M. de Boinville, his aide-de-camp, that as his name might still conduce to fresh disturbances, he thought it better that his stay in England should be prolonged. The Prince requested the Assembly to give him its orders in the matter, and intimated that if he did not receive a reply, he should regard the proceeding of M. de Boinville as not having taken place.

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M. de la Fayette replied that, as the same reasons which had led to the absence of the Duke d'Orleans still existed, he had thought it more prudent to request him to defer his return, in order that every possibility of anxiety might be removed on so auspicious a day as that of the Federation; that he was far from feeling any, and that he could even say that the more closely it approached, the more confirmed was he in his opinion that it would pass off with the most complete tranquillity. The Duke de Biron then moved that, if no accuser stood forward, the Duke d'Orleans should come and give an account of his proceedings, and assist at the Federation. The Assembly having passed to the order of the day, the Duke d'Orleans returned to Paris.

On his arrival he went to the Tuileries to wait upon the King and Queen. The latter, who had not seen the Duke d'Orleans since his departure from Versailles, was much moved. She was nevertheless quite self-possessed, and even had the courage to say a few words to him, to which he replied with an amount of embarrassment he was unable to conceal. He then went to the Assembly and made a speech, which was loudly applauded. He again protested his love of liberty and his attachment to the King and the Constitution; expressed his happiness at linking his name to an epoch which he looked upon as the greatest and happiest of all the epochs of the French Nation, and then took the oath of the 4th of February.

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As soon as it was decided that the Federation should take place in the Champ de Mars, all haste was made to complete the preparations necessary for so large an assemblage; and as time pressed, the citizens were asked to help the workmen, in order that all the works might be finished before the day fixed for the ceremony. Patriotic zeal seized upon all the amateurs of the Revolution. Everyone wanted to take part in the work; it was holy soil, and woe to him who did not put his hand to it! Even ladies drove in their carriages to load the barrows; and everybody who passed quietly by the Champ de Mars without stopping there ran a risk of being insulted. No idea can be given of the excitement. It was carried to such a pitch that the monks were compelled to leave the monasteries and traverse Paris, shovel on back, escorted by a multitude of people on their way to work in the Champ de Mars. Even the nuns themselves were threatened and had to send their male attendants there.

At one and the same time there might be seen at work labourers, citizens, Carthusian and other monks of various orders, soldiers, pretty women, men and women of every class and social status, all working to the best of their ability. Some concealed the feelings aroused by the constraint to which they were condemned; others betook themselves to their task with an outburst of patriotism, to which was added the pleasure of insulting those whom they believed to be far from sharing their sentiments.

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From time to time were heard repeated shouts of "Long live the Nation! To the lamp-post with the aristocrats!" and the "Ca ira," and other songs, which were called patriotic hymns, were sung by the women, who were enthusiasts in the cause of the Revolution. Several among them, even those of the highest social status, fatigued themselves to such an extent that they became ill, and ended by falling victims to their patriotic zeal.

The Federates arrived in Paris in a frame of mind far different from that anticipated by the Assembly. The majority, sincerely attached to the King, took no pains to conceal their sentiments, and their behaviour from the moment of their arrival to that of their departure was perfect. The Federation of the Army shared the same sentiments, and publicly evinced their respect and attachment for the King and all the Royal Family. The Assembly began to be uneasy at this, and repented having summoned to Paris a crowd of men whose sentiments were so opposed to those they had expected to find.

All the work relative to the Federation was executed with such rapidity that everything was ready several days before the ceremony. Round the circumference of the Champ de Mars thirty tiers of benches were erected, on which the spectators could sit comfortably, and there was still room behind for those standing up. In the middle was the Altar of the Country, the four sides of which were ornamented with figures and inscriptions suitable to the

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occasion. The École Militaire was converted into an amphitheatre, to be occupied by the civil departments, persons attached to the Court, and the assistants of the Assembly. It was surmounted by the seats of the King and the Assembly, and covered with canvas ornamented with streamers and the national colours. Above the King's throne, which was raised a few inches above the President's chair, floated the white flag. A platform was erected behind the King's throne and the seats of the deputies for the Queen and the royal family. The Federates were to be ranged in an elliptical line within the enclosure, with the National Guard between them and the tiers of seats at their side; the soldiers, with their officers at their head, occupied the centre of the Champ de Mars.

On the eve of the Federation, the King held a review of the Federates of the Departments. They marched past him and the royal family at the foot of the grand staircase of the Tuileries. The King asked the name of each deputation, and spoke to each one of its members with kindness, which redoubled their attachment. The Queen presented her children to them, and said a few words to them so gracefully that fresh value was added to her remarks. Transported with joy, they entered the Tuileries with shouts of "Long live the King, the Queen, Mgr. the Dauphin, and the Royal Family!" The King walked about with his family without any guard, followed by an immense crowd and surrounded by

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the Federates, a sight which so restrained the malevolent that not one of them dared misbehave himself.

Everybody wanted to witness the ceremony of the Federation, and the fear of not finding room induced a great number of people to spend the night in the Champ de Mars, some moved by patriotic zeal, and others by the curiosity aroused by so unwonted a spectacle. The rain, which fell in torrents, did not diminish the general zeal, and every place was filled. An immense crowd thronged behind, and the slopes of Passy and Chaillot were likewise covered with spectators. The many-coloured umbrellas rendered necessary by the unceasing rain also produced a singular effect. It was a most extraordinary sight, and would have been magnificent had it been illumined by the sunshine of a fine day.

The procession moved forward at six o'clock in the morning, and traversed the central streets of the capital on its way to the Champ de Mars by the Cours la Reine. In order to facilitate the arrival, a bridge of boats had been built at its extremity. Two companies of volunteers headed the procession, and they were succeeded by the Municipal body, the electors, and district presidents. Chasseurs and veterans then came, preceding the first forty-two departments, marching in alphabetical order, each one headed by a banner, on which was inscribed the name of the department, and its own oriflamme. The officers marched with swords drawn. The regi-

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ments of the line followed, among which one could distinguish with pleasure the Body Guard, Carbineers, Hussars, and Artillery. They had at their head MM. de Ségur and de Mailly, Marshals of France, followed by the Lieutenant-Generals and Major-Generals, the oriflamme being borne in front of them. The sailors, commanded by Count d'Estaing, also marched, and then came the last forty-two departments, followed by Chasseurs and a squadron of Cavalry bringing up the rear of the procession.

The skies were not propitious; shower followed shower without intermission; torrents of water deluged the streets, and the rain never ceased to accompany the battalions throughout the whole of their march. Although wet through to the skin, no complaint escaped them, and the order of march was not broken for a moment. It was made through a lane of spectators; the windows were crowded, and the remainder of the town, completely deserted, presented a most extraordinary sight.

The column did not reach the Place Louis XV. until noon. The Assembly had betaken itself thither, with the President at its head, marching between two lines of flags, which escorted it as far as the Champ de Mars, where its arrival and that of the King were proclaimed by artillery salutes.

The King, with the royal family, arrived last in great state and surrounded by a brilliant staff, when every one had taken his place; the Bishop of Autun,

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who officiated, blessed the flags and celebrated mass directly afterwards; it was four o'clock by this time. At the elevation of the Host, M. de la Fayette, appointed by the King to be Major-General of the Federation, gave the signal for the oath, ascended the altar steps, and pronounced it. In a moment every sword was drawn and every head raised. M. de la Fayette then went to the King and informed him that the moment had arrived for him to take the oath. The rain was falling in torrents, and a great number of the spectators, who were being inundated, sought to diminish its effect by opening their umbrellas. As this prevented the King from being seen, the crowd shouted "Down, down with umbrellas;" M. de la Fayette, who at first only heard the words "down, down," thought that the shout was probably meant for him; he hesitated for a moment, and his ordinary pallor visibly increased, but recovering himself quickly he resumed his progress and reached the King, who pronounced the formula of the oath. M. de Bonnai, President of the Assembly, repeated it simultaneously with three hundred thousand voices. The Queen lifted Mgr. the Dauphin in her arms several times to let him be seen by the people and the army, who burst out into demonstrations of joy and love for the King and the royal family.

Those persons who were sincerely attached to religion saw with pain that, in a ceremony anything but religious, where attention was solely directed to

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the extraordinary spectacle, the New Testament was used in administering the oath, and so the most august mysteries of our religion were exposed to a kind of profanation.

After the ceremony, part of the Federates went to dine at the Château de la Muette, where tables had been laid for them. Others returned to Paris, and some went back the same evening to their respective provinces. M. de la Fayette went to La Muette, where, as in the Champ de Mars, he was the recipient of those marks of popular idolatry of which M. Necker had been the object in the preceding year. He was then at the zenith of his glory; it had the ordinary duration of popular favour, and left behind it only the regret of not having taken advantage of his position to save his King and his country from the danger which menaced them. Under the name of liberty, which he uttered with so much complacence, France was handed over to the most complete anarchy, and every honest and virtuous person in it groaned under the most tyrannical of yokes.

The King returned to the Tuileries amid repeated shouts of "Long live the King and the Royal Family!" The Duke de Villequier, and several other sensible men, who carefully watched the public disposition, thought that the King might make capital out of this day, and were anxious that he should be on horseback; and that instead of taking the required oath, he should declare in the centre of the Champ de Mars that, being for the nonce at the head of the

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chosen of the nation, he would represent to it that he deemed it absolutely inconvenient to swear fidelity to a Constitution which was not finally completed, and of which the advantages or disadvantages could only be realised when it should be completed ; and that, after this remark, he was ready to take the oath to observe the clauses which had been passed, if the united nation would show him its wish that he should do so. The King probably consulted his Council. The men of whom it was composed had not energy enough to dare the risk of such a step, and they must certainly have dissuaded him from it, under the pretext of the danger it might induce. The course of events unfortunately gave reason to repent that this opportunity was not utilised.

The King took up his residence in Paris several days before the Federation, and remained there until the departure of the Federates. Their Majesties, in response to the desire expressed by these latter to see all the royal family, dined every day in public with them, with the exception of Mgr. the Dauphin, who, by reason of his tender age, dined at his own hour in his room. Joy was painted on the countenance of the Federates, who lost no opportunity of testifying their respect and attachment to the King. The sympathy displayed for them by the royal family, and the kindness with which they were spoken to, made their attachment still stronger. They were asked about their provinces, kind things

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were said to them about each one, and their desire to see the royal family in them increased day by day.

They took extreme pleasure in seeing Mgr. the Dauphin. At three o'clock he came down to my rooms. The windows of the room looking on to the gallery were opened, and he frequently presented himself on the little balcony at the top of the staircase leading to it. He said a word to this or that man as he passed, and then went back to play in the room, where he could be seen with ease.

As he was amusing himself one day in pulling off some leaves from a lilac tree on the balcony, a Federate asked him to give them to him so that he might throughout his life keep something that his little hand had held. The request had the effect of electricity. Each Federate wished to have one, and in a moment the shrub was despoiled, amid shouts of "Long live the King, the Queen, and Mgr. the Dauphin!" His gaiety, beauty, and grace, and his sprightly and engaging manner won every heart. Every day at five o'clock he went to his little garden in the Tuileries. The Federates made an urgent request that he would allow them to enter it. The request was acceded to, on the condition that only a certain number should enter at once, so that the young Prince might not be overtired by too large a crowd in so small a space, and that they should enter in relays while his walk lasted. He spoke to them frequently, and invariably with such winning innocence that they left quite enchanted. It would

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be impossible to give any idea of their devotion to the person of the King, or of the prayers they uttered for the preservation of this amiable child. Each of the deputations expressed the most ardent desire that the King would visit the provinces. "Come," said the deputation from Dauphiné to the young Prince, "come to your Province of Dauphiné; your name gives you possession of us, and we shall know well how to defend you there against your enemies." "Do not forget, Monseigneur," said the Normans to him in their turn, "that you have borne the name of our province, and that the Normans have always been, and will always be, faithful to their King." Each Federation warmly evinced its attachment, and it was impossible not to be touched by the expression of their sentiments, and by the tenderness of their regard for the young Prince, at whom they were never tired of looking.

There was a general desire to do honour to the Federals. Rejoicings took place in their honour—dances, spectacles, and jousts on the river. They conducted themselves with perfect propriety, never losing an opportunity of showing their respect and attachment to the royal family. None of the means used to withdraw them from their allegiance could alter their sentiments. Several of them even presented the most touching addresses to the royal family, among others those of Poitou and Anjou, Provinces whose conduct so amply justified the sentiments they professed.

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At the Étoile the King reviewed each deputation of the Army. They also testified to the King their most ardent attachment to his person; and the Federates, who attended this review in large numbers, begged him to come and visit each one of his Provinces, assuring him that he would there find hearts which would warmly appreciate the benefit of his presence. The Queen was in an open carriage with Mgr. the Dauphin, Madame, and Madame Elizabeth. She spoke to those who came up to it with a kindness and affability which won every heart. This day was notably one of happiness for the King, the Queen, and all who were devoted to them. It was an intoxication of feeling, and was the last auspicious day for the Queen, for whom, from that time, each day announced new misfortunes, and put her courage and firmness to terrible proof.

If the King had taken advantage of this opportunity to take a trip through his Provinces, and had announced at this review that he was about to respond to the wish expressed by the mouths of their deputies; if he had chosen to dispense with all other guard than the inhabitants of the places he was about to visit; and if he had elected to be accompanied in his visits only by the good Federates who evinced such attachment for him, he would have disconcerted the Assembly, and would have placed it in the position of being dependent on his goodwill. But it was written in the book of Fate that we should drain the cup to its very dregs. The King unfortu-

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nately was far from having any idea of the effect which his presence would produce in the Provinces; he feared that the zeal of his faithful servants would carry them too far, and that the opposition of the malcontents would bring about a civil war. All these considerations prevented him from following the advice given to him that he should take advantage of so favourable an opportunity of absenting himself from Paris. The lack of energy on the part of the majority of his Ministers, a portion of whom were always afraid of making any attack on that direful liberty which existed only in name, and carefully imbued him with ideas most hurtful to his interests; and this disastrous fear, produced by an excess of goodness, was the cause of all our misfortunes. The fault of the King was that he had too little confidence in himself. Persuaded that others saw more clearly than himself, he dared not take the line pointed out to him by the uprightness of his mind and the goodness of his heart. Discontented with the education he had received, he judged himself unfavourably, and he did not do himself the justice he deserved.

The Assembly was uneasy in regard to the line of conduct which the King was going to adopt; and believing itself to be lost if the King quitted Paris, there were no means which it did not employ to gain over the Federates. I had no doubt whatever about these fears after the remark made by Barnave in the carriage of the King on his return from his unfortunate trip to Varennes. He was speaking to Madame

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Elizabeth of the events of the Revolution, and especially of the Federation, and when the Princess alluded to the views entertained by the Assembly in decreeing it, he said, "Ah! Madame, do not complain of this epoch, for if the King had known how to profit by it, we should all of us have been lost." It is not difficult to form an idea of the impression produced by so remarkable a confession upon hearts as profoundly afflicted as were those of the royal family in the situation in which they then were.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE YEAR 1790.

Arrests, Denunciations, and Disorganising Decrees—Continuance of Measures for the Destruction of the Royal Authority—Murders and Disturbances in various parts of the Kingdom.

Two persons, named d'Hosier and Petit-Jean, both of them visionaries, were arrested at Saint Cloud. They seemed to be slightly crack-brained, and rendered themselves objects of suspicion by reason of their persistent attempts to speak to the King. They were searched, and on one of them was found a letter, in which they recommended the King to put his trust in God and the Holy Virgin, and so recover his authority. Chance brought them in contact with Madame de Jumilhac. They mentioned her name in the course of the proceedings against them, and that was all that was necessary for the issue of an order to two captains of the National Guard of Paris to proceed to Périgord, where she then was, and arrest her. They took 300 men at Limoges, reached Jumilhac, and brought her to Paris. Her replies were so simple and natural that, as no ground of

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accusation was discovered against her, she was restored to liberty, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Jumilhac, who, having experienced her beneficence, and being grateful for it, expressed the greatest joy at seeing her among them again.

M. de Clermont-Tonnerre seized upon this opportunity to bring a complaint against a Committee of Inquiry which, self-constituted and in defiance of every law, permitted arrests antagonistic to liberty, arrogated to itself rights even more odious than *lettres de cachet*, and harassed all classes of citizens with impunity. All the sensible members of the Assembly applauded the speech, which had much to do with the prompt release of Madame de Jumilhac; but none the less did the Committee continue its wonted vexatious proceedings.

M. de Bonne-Savardin, the bearer of a letter from the Count de Maillebois to M. the Count d'Artois, was arrested on the frontier. Confined in the first instance at Pierre en Cise, he was afterwards sent to Paris by order of the Committee of Inquiry. He had with him a small book, in which he noted down all the incidents of his daily life, among other things his having dined with M. de Saint Priest. The Committee were anxious to find some trait of identity between this latter gentleman and M. de Maillebois. In vain did M. de Bonne protest that there was no connection between the two names, and that he knew M. de Saint Priest to be too strongly opposed to all idea of counter revolution for any

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proposition of the kind to be made to him. The name of M. de Saint Priest was, nevertheless, added in the indictment laid at the Châtelet to those of MM. de Maillebois and de Bonne-Savardin. A charge of contempt of the Assembly and its decrees was also added, although no proof whatever of any such thing was forthcoming.

M. de Saint Priest having been informed that, in support of this denunciation, Brissot de Warville, a journalist and member of the Court of Inquiry, promised to publish in his paper full details regarding this assertion, felt himself compelled on this occasion to complain to the Assembly of the calumnies which were spread daily about him. He wrote a most noble letter, representing that as his conduct had been always irreproachable in the various posts he had filled, and as he was actually honoured with the confidence of the King, he believed it to be his duty as a minister to repel the accusations of which he was a victim; that he did not know either M. de Maillebois or M. de Bonne-Savardin personally; that he had never been in confidential communication with them; that he had nothing to reproach himself with in regard to his oath to be faithful to the Constitution; and that the conduct of his whole life was a proof that he knew how to be faithful to his oath.

The denunciation of the Commune against M. de Maillebois was brought up again on this occasion. It was based only on the recollection of his secre-

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tary, according to which M. de Maillebois had written that, with 2500 Piedmontese, 14,000 men furnished by Spain, and the help of the Duke de Deux Ponts, the Margrave of Baden, and the Landgrave of Hesse, he would undertake to blockade Paris, to subjugate France, and to bring the nation back to repentance. It is difficult to believe that a shrewd and clever man like the Count de Maillebois should have conceived such an idea, and should have sent it to the King of Sardinia and the Count d'Artois. In accordance with the denunciation of the Commune and the Committee, the Procureur du Roi at the Châtelet framed an indictment against MM. de Maillebois, de Saint Priest, and de Bonne-Savardin.

The Assembly continued, by means of fresh decrees, to deprive the King of his remaining authority. It took upon itself the organisation of the army and all decision as to pensions and retiring allowances, and rendered his Majesty powerless to do any good, or to remedy the disturbances which were of daily occurrence. He was keenly alive to the manner in which his authority was wounded, and he lived in the persuasion that so much patience and resignation, the direct opposite of the conduct of the Assembly, would open the eyes of the nation; and that without any recourse being had to violent measures, it would of itself return to the paternal government of a King who desired only its happiness. Alas! he was mistaken, and the malcontents

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who controlled the nation abused his kindness in order to continue their seditious practices, and to foster the blindness of a people led astray by greed of gain, and by the impunity with which crimes were daily committed.

The Assembly could not forgive MM. de Saint Priest, de la Luzerne, and de la Tour du Pin for the attachment they showed the King, and the continual representations they made to him in reference to the excesses committed in the Provinces, the regiments, and the forts. The daily denunciations levelled against them were only intended to make them declare to the King that they had lost the confidence of the nation, and to compel him to replace them by persons more submissive to the will of the Assembly, and less attached to the person of his Majesty.

M. Malouet, indignant at the atrocious and inflammatory libels of Camille Desmoulins, which were hawked about even at the door of the Assembly, thought it would be serviceable to the people's good if he were to denounce one of them, in which the most outrageous expressions against himself were used.

He represented, with his customary firmness, the danger which every private individual might incur so long as journalists were not afraid to preach murder, pillage, and arson, thus compelling a representative of the people to carry arms in defence of his life; adding that he would have treated these insults with contempt if he had not hoped, by drawing attention to them, to secure the punishment of

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a being so dangerous to society. The impertinent fellow had gone so far as to threaten him that he would brand him on the cheek with a hot iron as an infamous convict from the hulks of Brest. As this insult appeared to verge on insanity, M. Malouet requested that if a medical examination established his madness, he should be confined in a lunatic asylum until cured; and, if not, that he should be compelled to retract both in the record office and in his first issue; that he should pay all costs, and a fine of 20,000 francs, to be divided among the poor of his maternal charity; and that four thousand copies of this sentence should be printed at his expense, and placarded in Paris, Brest, Toulon, and other places if need be, liberty being reserved to the Procureur du Roi to take such measures as he might deem fit for the reparation due to public morality, the law, and the dignity of a representative of the nation.

Shortly afterwards, he denounced a libel by Marat, called, *C'en est fait de nous*, in which he proposed to seize the King and Mgr. the Dauphin; to confine the Queen and Monseiur; to get rid of all persons in authority, and to cut off six hundred heads; stating that then only would the people be happy, paying no taxes and enjoying a liberty they only knew by name; and that, without this action, their enemies would swallow them all up, themselves, their wives, and their children.

M. Malouet spoke most eloqently on the danger of allowing currency to such libels, which tended,

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by the horror which such methods inspired, to neither more nor less than a counter revolution. He represented strongly that it was the interest of everybody not to allow the public mind to go astray on this point, seeing that it might pass from the murder of a single individual, regarded as an enemy, to the massacre of those who attempted to repress excesses; and would end by rendering France a theatre of bloodshed and horror. He demanded a decree that the Procureur du Roi should be there, and then ordered to appear at the bar to receive his orders to prosecute, as guilty of treason to the nation, the authors, printers, and vendors of publications calculated to excite among the people an insurrection against the laws as well as in favour of the overthrow of the Constitution.

The speech of M. Malouet made such an impression, that the decree passed without opposition. But two days afterwards a project of criminal legislation, due to Marat, was brought before the Assembly. Camille Desmoulins took advantage of this opportunity to complain of the severity with which patriotic writings were treated, while those of the opposite party, such as the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Gazette de Paris*, and the *Passion de Louis XVI.*, etc., etc., were allowed to circulate without any difficulty. According to him, it was an intolerable measure to bring him before a tribunal because he was accused of being a counter revolutionist.

"Would it be possible," exclaimed M. Malouet,

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"to justify libels provocative of murder, bloodshed, and the overthrow of all authority?" "I dare do it," said a voice, which was recognised as that of Camille Desmoulins. The President ordered him to be arrested, but he contrived to get lost in the crowd, and appeared the next moment in the hall. Robespierre excused his conduct, by attributing it to his extreme irritation at seeing himself accused of a crime against the nation of whose rights he was the daily and incessant defender. Dubois de Crancé joined him, and thought it was a favourable opportunity to represent to the Assembly that, as the Committee of Inquiry had accused M. de Saint Priest of being the accomplice of MM. de Maillebois and de Bonne-Savardin, a representation should be made to the King, through the President, that it could hold no correspondence with a minister so grossly attacked. There was a general silence. M. Desmeunier alone proved courageously that no minister could be dismissed without legal accusation and trial, and that then only, if he should be found guilty, would he undergo the punishment laid down by the law. Nobody dared reply, and the motion of M. Dubois de Crancé fell to the ground.

Péthion, on his side, denounced the decree against the libellers as having a restrospective effect. "A revolution," he said, "is not a time of calm; you yourselves have favoured the insurrection of a great nation; you have approved of it by

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your proceedings. I demand, therefore, that this last decree shall be inoperative until you have defined the crime of treason to the nation, and have established trial by jury."

In vain did M. Malouet reply that there was then neither peace nor security in France; that the nation would one day call the Assembly to account for the evils it had brought about, and of which it would in the end be the victim. He was not listened to, and the Assembly, without paying any attention to an amendment to the decree which he brought forward for the purpose of depriving it of its arbitrary character, proclaimed that no action could be brought, nor prosecution instituted, against any writing published up to that date, except in the case of the one called *C'en est fait de nous;* but that, indignant on account of the licence used by authors, it charged the Committee of the Constitution and that of Criminal Jurisprudence united to bring forward for its consideration a method of putting in force the decree passed against libellers.

The noise was so great that it was impossible for three-fourths of the Assembly to hear the terms of the decree. It was expected that an addition would be made, ordering this method of putting it in force to be brought forward with the least possible delay. MM. Malouet and Dupont de Nemours, having called attention to this omission, demanded that it should be repaired; but the Assembly obstinately refused to alter the decree in any way.

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The progress of emigration began to be clearly perceived. Complaint was made to the Assembly, which deliberated on the best means to remedy it. "The means is as simple as it is infallible," said M. de Murinais; "give back peace to France; restore order and justice, and there will be no more emigration." The malcontents, who ruled the Assembly, were far from agreeing to this, knowing better than anybody else that only in the midst of trouble and confusion could they realise the plans they had made for the destruction of religion and the Monarchy.

M. de Bonne-Savardin caused great commotion in the Assembly by his escape from the Abbaye prison. Fearing, with reason, that he should not escape being discovered, and being anxious to secure his safety, he went to the Abbé de Barmond, a member of the Right of the Assembly, who was well known for his beneficence, and begged him to give him an asylum in his house for a few days. The Abbé de Barmond, afraid of compromising himself, hesitated much before complying, but his good heart prevailed in the end.

The Abbé de Barmond was on the point of starting for the waters. M. de Bonne, being informed of this, begged him so earnestly to take him with him that he could not refuse, although he already had in his carriage a Federate on his way back to his own district. Denounced by somebody, presumably his own servant, the Abbé de Barmond was pursued by

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MM. Mestre and Julien, aides-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, who, coming up with the carriage near Châlons, rode on before it, warned the Municipality, and had the travellers arrested. The only papers found on them were letters for the Cardinal de Rohan, of which M. Égys was the bearer.

The Assembly, being informed of this occurrence, decided that the travellers should be brought back to Paris; that MM. Égys and de Bonne-Savardin should be taken to separate prisons in the city; and that the Abbé de Barmond should remain in his own house until the Assembly had decided as to his fate.

The Abbé d'Aimar gave his assurance that M. Égys had nothing to do with the affair; that he did not even know the Abbé de Barmond, who had only promised to take him back to his own country at his, the Abbé d'Aimar's, request; that he might be taken into custody, but that he did not deserve to be treated as a criminal. No attention was paid to these representations, and he was put in prison all the same.

When the Abbé de Barmond reached Paris, he was ordered to appear at the bar of the Assembly, and he was conducted to it in a manner calculated to make him an object of general observation. A tumultuous crowd surrounded his carriage, and they were with difficulty kept at a distance. He naturally confessed that he had been wanting in prudence on this occasion, but that, having spent his life in suc-

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couring the unhappy and oppressed, he could not help feeling pity for a man who had been in prison for three months by order of an illegal tribunal, without a single proof having been discovered against him; that he had never known either M. de Maillebois or M. de Bonne-Savardin; that his sympathy had outstripped his prudence; and that he had nothing else to say in his justification.

MM. Duport du Tertre and de Frondeville warmly defended the Abbé de Barmond. The latter, after having insisted on the illegality of the depositions of the Committee of Inquiry, the terror of all good people, could not restrain his indignation in comparing the severity of the treatment meted out to the Abbé de Barmond with the indulgence shown to the assassins of the royal family, several of whom were possibly sitting among the members of the Assembly. This sentence aroused a most tremendous tumult. The two parties in the Assembly indulged in the most violent personalities, and, in the midst of the din created by everybody shouting at the same time, M. de Frondeville was censured for having expressed his opinion. A large number of members of the Right demanded to be included in his censure, expressing their assent in mind and heart to the speech he had made; and amid all this tumult the Assembly decreed that the Committee of Inquiry should be charged with the examination of the evidence in the matter of the Abbé de Barmond; that

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their report should be made within a week; and that he should remain in custody until further orders.

On the following day, M. de Frondeville had his speech printed and circulated gratuitously, with a preface and introduction, stating explicitly that he felt himself honoured by the censure he had incurred on the previous evening. M. Goupil de Préfeln denounced this speech as a dangerous libel, and, supported by Barnave, insisted that such a want of respect for the Assembly deserved at least a week's imprisonment, a very slight punishment for such an offence.

M. de Faucigny, unable to restrain his indignation, exclaimed, "This is too much! It is a war by his Majesty against the minority, and we have no other course to pursue but to fall sword in hand on these fellows." The anger of the Left was at its height, and Barnave requested the President to arrest M. de Faucigny on the spot.

M. de Frondeville, distressed by such a disgraceful scene, requested permission to speak. He acknowledged that he had given rise to it by his pamphlet, expressed his regret to the Assembly, and earnestly requested that the punishment should fall on him alone, seeing that he was the cause of the excitement of so quick and enthusiastic nature as that of M. de Faucigny. The frank manner in which M. de Frondeville acknowledged his mistake disarmed the Assembly, and it contented itself with condemning him to confinement to his own house for a week.

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M. de Faucigny in his turn apologised for the excitement to which he had given way. "I might, however, place an interpretation," he said, "on the incautious remark that escaped me, differing from the one attributed to it, if I did not think it more prudent not to repeat it. I have now only to submit beforehand to whatever punishment the Assembly may deem proper to inflict on me." It resolved that, having regard to the excuses and declaration of M. de Faucigny, it remitted the punishment it would have had a right to inflict.

A week afterwards M. Voidel, in the name of the Committee of Inquiry, reported to the Assembly that, on examination of the evidence submitted to it, it had discovered no crime nor even proofs of complicity in the matter of the escape of M. de Bonne-Savardin, but that the Abbé de Barmond had rendered himself guilty of one of the greatest social crimes by endeavouring to withdraw from the vengeance of the law, and shield with his own immunity, a man in the hands of justice as indicted for the crime of treason to the nation; that it was impossible to believe that he had gone so far without intending to complete his work; that he, consequently, requested that the Abbé de Barmond should remain under arrest; that the Châtelet should prosecute the authors and accomplices of the escape of M. de Bonne; that a Committee of the Assembly should separately interrogate the Abbé de Barmond and M. de Foucault, who

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seemed to be compromised in the affair; and that M. Égys, who was not concerned in it, should be set at liberty.

M. de Foucault, found guilty of having received M. de Bonne-Savardin in his house, justified his conduct and that of the Abbé de Barmond by the same arguments that had been given in the sitting, when the latter appeared in person. The Abbé Maury, in a speech full of wisdom and moderation, invoked the Constitution, which was being violated by such arbitrary arrests; protested against the suppositions indulged in by M. Voidel as deserving public indignation; contended that such conclusions tended to render the imprisonment of the Abbé de Barmond perpetual; and concluded by demanding his provisional release, on condition that he should appear whenever called upon, and recommending that orders should be issued to the Châtelet to continue the trial of M. de Bonne-Savardin, and to punish the guilty in conformity with the law.

This speech made such an impression, that two-thirds of the Assembly demanded that the suggestions of the Abbé Maury should be converted into a decree. But Barnave, Pethion, Mirabeau, and those who shared their opinions, protested violently against a decree which they stigmatised as counter revolutionary; and, aided by the approval of the galleries, who supported their arguments with shouts and clapping of hands, they persuaded his Majesty that there were grounds of accusation against the

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Abbé de Barmond. In vain was a request made that poor M. Égys, pronounced innocent by the Committee of Inquiry, should at least be set at liberty; the Assembly passed to the order of the day, and he still remained in prison.

The Assembly never turned aside from its plan of leaving the King with no other authority than an empty title. It resolved that public accusation should no longer be in the hands of the Commissaries of the King, it being too dangerous to leave the exercise of such power with them. It revoked the allowances of the Children of France, reduced them to a pension, and decided that they could not inherit either the real or personal estate belonging to the King, the Queen, or the heir-presumptive to the throne at the time of their decease, any more than such property as might fall to them by succession, and that everything should be included within the property of the crown.

The King represented to the Assembly, through M. Necker, that the abolition of all pensions from the royal treasury except for twenty-five or thirty years' service, would place in a very cruel position a number of persons who had a right to count upon the recompense which was their due. They had not any employment, and would find themselves denuded of every means of existence. "His Majesty," added the Minister, "sees also with pain the prohibition issued to pensioners of the State against their receiving any pension or any assistance from the civil

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list, and he hopes the Assembly will take into consideration subjects which are so near his heart."

M. Necker took advantage of this opportunity to impress upon the Assembly that it placed the King too much in the background in the distributions of promotions and rewards, and instanced, by way of contrast, the conduct of England, which neglected no means of surrounding its King with every mark of consideration. Barnave, Charles de Lameth, and Boutidoux protested vehemently against the audacity of M. Necker, who dared to presume to give advice to the Assembly; and without even listening to the arguments adduced against their excitement, or making any distinction between the requests of the King and the observations of M. Necker, they induced the majority of the Assembly to pass to the order of the day.

M. Necker, deeply distressed by the result of his proceeding, appreciated, but too late, the baneful influence of his conduct at the beginning of the Revolution. He was very much affected by the manner in which he was treated by the Assembly, and his regret could not but increase when he reflected upon what he was, and what he might have been if he had adhered to the line of conduct imposed upon him by the confidence which his Majesty displayed when he selected him for office.

The warmth with which MM. Barnave and de Cazalès maintained their opinions having given rise to some personalities, Barnave challenged M. de Cazalès,

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and they fought a duel with pistols. M. de Cazalès was wounded, and owed his life to his hat. The populace displayed the utmost joy over the success of Barnave, and declared that, if he had been killed, they would have massacred his adversary. Their ferocity increased from day to day, and the most disastrous intelligence came to hand about what was going on in the Provinces.

M. de Pont, Intendant of Metz, who was about to undergo an operation for stone, was surrounded in his official residence by a hundred and fifty militiamen, who demanded their pay, which they asserted was due to them since 1775, and for which they held him responsible. The populace joined them, and after having overwhelmed M. de Pont with insults, they extorted from him a bank note for 1000 louis. M. Louis de Bouillé and several other officers ran the greatest danger in attempting to defend M. de Pont. The Municipality had the courage to hoist the red flag, to plant guns in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and to declare null and void the bank note extorted from the Intendant. On the following day, a report was current that a band of brigands was devastating the crops, and owing to these rumours there was an almost universal arming of the inhabitants of the neighbouring Provinces.

The spirit of revolt was rife in the various parts of the Kingdom. M. de Castellat, the senior naval officer at Toulon, was attacked by the dockyard labourers, under the pretext that the want of funds

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made them fear a suspension of payment. They were making ready to hang him, wounded as he was, when two grenadiers of the Baviors regiment rescued him, all bleeding from their hands, and conveyed him to the hospital. M. de Glendevez, in giving an account of this occurrence, asked what could be done by a Commandant without resources against men who, led astray by the name of liberty, gave themselves up to all sorts of atrocities. M. Malouet at once proposed a bill which, drawn up by the Committees of Inquiry, Reports, and Marine, would empower the Seneschal's Court of Toulon to deal with the perpetrators of this outrage, and would enjoin the President of the Assembly to write an approving letter to the Municipality and the National Guard, who had already arrested several of the assassins of M. de Castellat, and to the brave grenadiers who had saved his life at the risk of their own.

M. de Mirabeau spoke strongly in opposition to such disturbances, and declared that he saw no other remedy for so many evils than the disbanding of the army. He proposed to decree it for the 20th of September, to terminate the furlough from the moment when the decrees on the military organisation should be passed, and to make every man composing the army take so precise and definite an oath that all diversity of principles and opinions should be excluded. He proposed, moreover, to issue at the same time an address to the army, setting forth the obligations imposed by this oath, which would

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act as a preservative against such interpretations as ignorant and enthusiastic persons had placed on the Declaration of the Rights of Man. He concluded by avowing that it was time that this declaration should be followed by one setting forth individual obligations. If this declaration, so urgently demanded by the sensible members of the Assembly, and so obstinately refused, had been decreed at once after that of the Rights of Man, many misfortunes would have been avoided. The proposal of M. de Mirabeau was unfortunately too late; the evil might easily have been prevented in its earliest stages, but it became difficult to remedy it later on.

The disbanding of the army roused the anger of Marat. He circulated a pamphlet declaring that, if the disbanding of the army proposed by Mirabeau should be decreed, he would erect eight hundred gallows at the Tuileries on which to hang all the traitors, with Mirabeau at their head. M. Malouet denounced this pamphlet, and demanded that the Mayor of Paris should be required to arrest Marat, as well as the vendors of such atrocities. Mirabeau, on the other hand, entreated the Assembly to treat such extravagance with contempt, which he stigmatised as intoxication on the part of Marat, and he denounced as a libel the indictment of the Châtelet in regard to the events of the 5th and 6th of October.

A letter was read to the Assembly from the conquerors of the Bastille and patriot authors, such as

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Carra, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, Brissot, Loustalot, etc., asking all good citizens to be present at a service, to be celebrated in the Champ de Mars, in memory of their comrades who fell at the taking of the Bastille. Robespierre wanted the Assembly to send a deputation there, but on it being pointed out that the Assembly could not sit side by side with men whom it had condemned, M. Duport moved a resolution that it belonged to the Assembly to order such a service, and that it must be postponed until that order should be given.

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CHAPTER VII.

The Nancy Affair—Resignation of M. Necker—Camp of Jalés—Fresh Issue of *Assignats*.

THE Minister of War made a report to the Assembly on the critical situation in which the town of Nancy was placed owing to the revolt of the regiments of the King, the Mestre de Camp, and the Suisses de Châteauvieux. This latter regiment, which had been led away, appeared at first disposed to repent; but, spurred on once more by those who were fostering all these disturbances, it persisted in its revolt. Each of these regiments wished to make its officers jointly and severally responsible for the sums it pretended were due, and for unjust stoppages extending over a considerable period, and they threatened to take the law into their own hands if their demands were not acquiesced in.

M. de Malseigne, formerly Major-General of Carbineers, a prudent and courageous officer, who was sent to Nancy to restore order and subordination, summoned a committee to sit in the barracks of the Suisses for the examination of the accounts, and he went there on the 24th of August. The unjust de-

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mands of the soldiers were rejected, but those which were just and reasonable were granted. But as there was a considerable amount of excitement, M. de Malseigne postponed the sitting until another day. As he was leaving the barracks a grenadier, who was on sentry at the gate, stopped him and pointed his bayonet at his chest. M. de Malseinge drew his sword, wounded him, and served a second grenadier, who attacked him, after the same fashion. He cut his way with his sword through the excited soldiery, and went to the quarters of M. de Nouë, second Colonel of the King's Regiment, and commanding in the town, where all the officers were assembled.

The men of the Châteauvieux regiment wanted to force the doors of M. de Nouë's quarters; but they were barricaded, and able for the time to withstand any attack. M. de Malseigne wished to make a stand against their fury; but, learning that the excitement was hourly increasing, that the majority of the men belonging to the King's and the Mestre de Camp regiments, joined by the mob, sympathised with the Suisses, and that his life was in the greatest danger, he resolved to yield to the entreaties made to him that he should leave Nancy and return to Lunéville, where he was received by the Carbineers with every mark of the esteem and confidence with which he had always inspired them.

As soon as it was known that he had left Nancy, thirty soldiers of the Mestre de Camp regiment set out in pursuit of him; but he was safe in Lunéville

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when they approached the town. A detachment of Carbineers mounted, went out to meet them, killed two, and made the others prisoners. This intelligence, exaggerated by malevolence, reached Nancy, and produced alarm among the rebels. A report was circulated that foreigners had entered the kingdom, and disorder reigned supreme. The soldiers shouted "Treason," forced their way into M. de Nouë's quarters, dragged him to prison, imprisoned all the officers who were with him, and even arrested M. Percheloche, aide-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, and put him under a guard of their Fusiliers.

The three regiments which had mutinied set out at once to attack the Carbineers, and the National Guards also moved. M. Percheloche then suggested to those who were guarding him that they should go and help their comrades, and they all marched to Lunéville. They found the Carbineers drawn up in battle; the two forces sent deputies to each other. M. de Malseigne proposed to return to Nancy, accompanied by two deputies, one a Carbineer and one from the other regiments; M. Percheloche was requested by the National Guard, and also by the men of the King's regiment, to go to Paris and report what had transpired. He consented, after having obtained the release of M. de Nouë and those who were arrested with him.

M. de Bouillé, in recounting these facts, asked the Assembly to appoint two Commissioners to act in concert with him, and in that way to put an end to

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the current rumours that troops were being concentrated merely to bring about a counter-revolution. He informed the Assembly that he had under his orders, besides the Carbineers, the Swiss regiments of Castella and Vigier, who were determined to avenge the shame inflicted on their nation by the defection of the Châteauvieux regiment.

Meanwhile the situation of Nancy was frightful. The Arsenal had been pillaged; the lower orders defended the soldiers, and the upper classes ran a daily risk of being massacred. A large number of the National Guard had left the town to march with the three regiments against the Carbineers, and the citizens were defenceless against the excitement of the mob. The Assembly was urgently requested to maintain the decree it had passed, authorising the forcible repression of an insurrection whose results might be so dangerous. But the National Guard of Nancy sent two deputies to Paris, who in a speech made to the Assembly, excused the troops, and attributed the disturbances to the commanding officers of the regiments, especially M. de Malseigne. They thus succeeded in making the Assembly lukewarm about the measures it had at first adopted. "All the mistakes made by the soldiers," they said, "spring solely from their attachment to the principles of the Revolution. They must be temporised with, and justice must be done to the purity of their sentiments."

These arguments, supported by the demagogues of the Assembly, secured for them the honours of the

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sitting. Barnave, Robespierre, and other deputies of the same party, endeavoured to create distrust of the opinions of M. de Bouillé. He was going, so they said, to form a union of aristocrats and despots hired to make an end of the soldiers. By means of these lies they succeeded, though with difficulty, in persuading the Assembly to issue a fresh proclamation, in which it declared that it would look closely into the conduct of each individual; that soldiers and citizens should be placed under the safeguard of the nation; but that to obtain justice order must first of all be restored. It resolved that this proclamation should be taken to Nancy by the Commissioners, who were authorised to make use of military force after having exhausted every means of peace and justice.

The decrees and proclamation of the Assembly made no impression on the rebels. They even succeeded in gaining over to their side a large number of Carbineers, who seized MM. de Nouë and de Malseigne, and took them to prison, where they found themselves at the mercy of these fanatics. M. de Bouillé, after having in vain employed every possible means of making the troops return to their allegiance, was compelled to use force, and he determined to put the decree in operation.

He summoned all the troops of the line, the National Guards of Metz and Lunéville, and the loyal portion of that of Nancy, read to them the decree of the Assembly, sanctioned by the King, and,

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assured of their fidelity, he marched against the insurgents. The latter sent a deputation to M. de Bouillé, asking him to surrender. He replied that he would make no terms with rebels; that nothing was left to them but submission, and that if within two hours MM. de Nouë and de Malseigne were not given up to him, and the three regiments were not drawn up outside the town with grounded arms, he would put in force the decree. MM. de Nouë and de Malseigne were given up, and after sundry conferences, in which M. de Bouillé held his ground, a fresh deputation from the Municipality and the King's regiment came to assure him that they were going to leave the town, in obedience to his orders. M. de Bouillé received the deputation in the midst of his troops, whose ardour could hardly be restrained. The soldiers left the town, but it was noticed that one of the gates was guarded by men of the three regiments, who had also retained the artillery. They were preparing to defend it when M. Désilles, a young officer in the King's regiment, full of honour and bravery, made a last effort to bring them to submission. First of all he made use of persuasion and argument to induce them to abstain from bloodshed in an impossible defence; but not being able to make any impression on their obstinate minds, he placed himself at the mouth of the cannon, hoping by that proceeding to stop them. It was all in vain; they replied to the last summons of M. de Bouillé by a shot from the gun and a round of musketry, which

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mortally wounded the young and heroic Désilles.[1] The volunteers replied by a very rapid fire, forced the gate, and killed all they met. The insurgents defended themselves desperately. They fired from the windows on the troops of M. de Bouillé, and killed many of his men. After a fight which lasted for three hours, in which the soldiers of the Châteauvieux regiment were partly killed or wounded; and the Mestre de Camp regiment having fled, the King's regiment resolved to surrender. M. de Bouillé went at once to its barracks, and ordered it to go to Verdun; the Mestre de Camp regiment, dispersed or captured, was ordered to Toul, Moyenvic, and Marsal. M. de Bouillé eulogised in the highest terms the courage and bravery of the troops and the National Guards. Thirty men of the National Guard of Metz were killed, and many were wounded. Nancy owed its safety to them, and order was completely re-established there.

M. de Bouillé held a Council of War on the following day to try the culprits, and the orders of the Assembly were requested in regard to the men of the Châteauvieux regiment. M. de Malseigne, on leaving Nancy, arranged for the rejoining of the Carbineers who had returned to their allegiance, and who, when assuring him of their profound sorrow, gave up

[1] He was a Breton, and imbibed from his family the courage and generosity he displayed on this occasion. His father and the greater portion of his family fell victims to their attachment to royalty under the Reign of Terror in 1795.

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twenty of their comrades, the leading spirits of the insurrection.

The courage and firmness of M. de Bouillé were generally applauded. He had only 3,000 men against the insurgents, who numbered 10,000. The modesty with which he reported his success added still more to the esteem inspired by his conduct.

The King and Queen, who were in the most intense anxiety about what was going on at Nancy, testified to M. de Bouillé the satisfaction they felt in regard to his conduct, and paid the most flattering and deserved public tribute to it. Not so with the Assembly. Everything which tended to show respect to the King was a subject of displeasure with it. Consequently, in the decree of thanks to the authorities, the National Guards and M. Désilles for their zeal, bravery, and patriotism, it limited itself to a single line of approbation in respect of the General and the troops of the line who had done their duty, and it ordered the Commissioners whose despatch had been ordered, to betake themselves without delay to Nancy, in order to take the necessary evidence in connection with the authors of the insurrection, to punish the guilty without distinction of military rank, and to take all necessary measures for the preservation of public order. It took upon itself the task of providing for the widows and children of the National Guards who had fallen at Nancy.

The King had named as Commissioners the two

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Presidents of the nearest Departments to the town, as being fully cognisant of all that had transpired there; but M. de la Fayette opposed this, and succeeded in having M. Dumanoir, one of his aides-de-camp, and M. Duport du Tertre appointed. These two gentlemen, not being desirous of being entrusted with this mission, were replaced by MM. du Verrier and Cayer de Gerville, advocates.

If the King had wished to leave Paris at this juncture, and to retire to Metz to put himself at the head of the troops there, the popularity enjoyed by M. de Bouillé would have enabled him to do so, and his residence at Saint Cloud would have afforded him every sort of facility to leave secretly. But he could not make up his mind to a step the consequences of which he feared.

The malcontents, annoyed at seeing order re-established at Nancy by the heroic valour of the troops and the National Guard, attempted to create a disturbance in Paris. They re-assembled the mob of Palais Royal, and a band of people met round the hall and spread over the garden of the Tuileries, cursing M. de Bouillé and the Ministers, whose dismissal they demanded. They bewailed the murders at Nancy, and even pretended to want to force their way into the hall. The excellent bearing of the National Guard nipped this sedition in the bud. M. Dupont de Nemours complained bitterly of the audacity of the malcontents, who, apparently

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without an army, in reality had one in the mass of their partisans, obedient to the word of command, and concentrating at the first signal, for the purpose of committing every excess they were commanded to perpetrate. He urged that the Assembly should give orders to indict the authors of this last disturbance, and that the Municipality of Paris should be enjoined to see vigilantly to the execution of the decrees relating to public tranquillity. In spite of a speech from M. André, who was not ashamed to attribute to the minority the excesses of which they complained, for the purpose of creating a feeling against them, the proposed decree was passed unanimously.

The riot of the 2d of September determined the resignation of M. Necker. Alarmed at the dangers he was incurring, he wrote to the Assembly to the effect that, as his health would no longer allow him to discharge the duties of his office, he tendered his resignation. At the same time he stated that on the 2d of July he had handed in his account of receipts and expenditure from the 1st of May 1789, to May 1790; that as a guarantee of his administration of public funds, he left his houses in Paris and the country, and 2,400,000 livres of his own money, which he had paid into the public treasury, of which he wished to withdraw only 400,000 livres. His resignation was received with the most profound indifference. The Assembly took upon itself the administration of the public treasury, and added the

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control of the finances to all the other powers it had taken into its own hands.

The sudden arrival of M. Necker having caused a certain amount of commotion in the village of Saint Omer, he thought it prudent to leave, and he wandered throughout the night in the valley of Montmorency. He returned to Paris early on the following day, and left shortly afterwards for Coppet. His journey was not a fortunate one. He was arrested at Arcis-sur-Aube by the Municipality, who refused to allow him to continue on his way until they were authorised to do so by the National Assembly. M. Necker wrote to the President asking for this authorisation, and his friends obtained for him the necessary letters. Armed with these papers, he was allowed to proceed as far as Vesoul, where he was again arrested. But the Municipality set him at liberty, and at last he left France never to return to it again, carrying with him regret and anxiety which, added to his grief at the loss of his wife, rendered his life bitter to his latest breath.

The persecutions experienced by the inhabitants of the southern Provinces attached to the King and religion made them resolve to unite in self-defence. They formed a federal camp at Jalès in lower Languedoc. They fixed the 18th of August as the day for assembling. This camp already consisted of 45,000 men, when 10,000 mountaineers from Vivarais arrived to increase the number. They formed a square, in the midst of which an altar was erected

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and mass was celebrated; and as there was a certain amount of excitement, a proposition was made to sally forth to avenge the Catholics oppressed by the Protestants. M. de Lazantides, a retired officer of the Penthièvre regiment, who perceived the danger of this proposal, adroitly made use of an excuse of want of provisions to induce them to retire.

The inhabitants of Vivarais were more difficult to persuade than the others, and only consented on condition that Commissioners should be sent for the purpose of compelling the Protestants to send to Montpellier, or some other safe town, the imprisoned Catholics, there to be tried and punished if found guilty; that they should sell arms to the Catholics, or else disarm the Protestants; that the guns should be restored to the citadel of Nîmes; and that the soldiers of the Guyenne regiment, who had sold themselves to the Protestants, should be sent away from that place.

The Assembly, rendered uneasy by this assembling, decreed its approval of the proclamation of the Department of Ardèche opposing the proceedings of the army of the Camp of Jalès, and requested the President to ask the King to order the tribunal of Villeneuve-en-Berg to try the authors of the unconstitutional proceedings at the Camp; to declare the Military Committee of that army unconstitutional; to forbid it to assemble, and its Commissioners to go to Montpellier to inquire into the Nîmes affair; also to forbid all the National Guards in the kingdom to

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form any federal camp without authority from the Executive Council of the Department; and to beg His Majesty to give orders as promptly as possible for the execution of the decree.

The decision arrived at by the King on the advice of his Ministers to sanction unreflectingly all the decrees of the Assembly, often caused him much annoyance. Compelled by this decision to abandon those who sought to defend his authority, he saw with grief that, far from its accomplishing the end he had in view, its tendency was to further the aim of the Assembly, whose sole object was to extinguish in the hearts of the French all attachment to that Sovereign who only desired the happiness of his people.

The Left of the Assembly, who had sworn the destruction of the clergy, finding that the sale of their property was somewhat long in being carried out, proposed to settle it more speedily by a fresh issue of two milliards of *assignats*, including those which had already been created. Mirabeau and the Committee of Liquidation had estimated at this amount the reimbursement of the public debt, which consisted of the cost of the households of the King and the Princes, military salaries, enfeoffed tithes, and the Holland and Genoa loans. They said that in exchanging these two milliards against estates of equal value, the State would be relieved of as considerable a debt, and the people would only have to pay 474,000,000 francs per annum. Mirabeau was in

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favour of reimbursing the public debt by *assignats* without interest; of selling the national domains at once, and opening auctions in every district; of receiving *assignats* exclusively in payment of purchases; of burning them as they were returned; and of charging the Committee of Finances with a bill and an instruction for this purpose.

A great many sittings were devoted to the discussion of this proposal. All the well-informed and reasonable members of the Assembly protested against the measure; and a great number of the deputies of the Left joined them, and enlarged on the danger of the step in speeches full of force and wisdom. They painted in warm colours the disturbances which could not fail to result from it, such as the rise in the price of provisions, the dilapidation of the Church property, and bankruptcy, which would be the inevitable result of such an issue of *assignats.* The representations of the large towns of the kingdom on the harm which would be done to commerce had no more effect. The step was resolved upon; the fiery eloquence of Mirabeau, supported by his party, won over the majority of the Assembly, and it was resolved that the non-constituted debt of the State and that of the so-called clergy should be reimbursed in *assignats-monnaïe* without interest; that not more than 1,200,000,000 should be put in circulation, in addition to the 400,000,000 which had been decreed; that the *assignats* should be burnt as they came into the

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Treasury; and that no new ones should be manufactured without the sanction of the Corps Législatif, and then under the condition that they should not exceed in value the national domains, nor exceed in circulation the amount of 1,200,000,000 francs.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE YEAR 1790 (OCTOBER).

Procedure in connection with the Events of the 5th and 6th of October —Conduct of the Assembly in regard to this subject—Insubordination in the Fleet at Brest—Resignation of M. d'Albert de Rioms—Fresh Denunciation of Ministers—Resignation of M. de la Luzerne—Energetic Protests of various Parliaments against the Attacks made on the Royal Authority—Troubles in Martinique —Uncertainty of the King as to withdrawing from Paris—His Return to the Capital—Resignation of Ministers and their Replacement—Continuance of Disturbances.

THE Châtelet, amply informed in regard to the disturbances of the 5th and 6th of October, before indicting the persons implicated in them, sent a deputation to the bar of the Assembly, with M. Boucher d'Argis, President of the Tribunal, at its head. It declared that it was about to reveal secrets full of horror, and that, in spite of threats against the Châtelet from all quarters, it would not shrink from any danger in affirming liberty as distinguished from licence; that it had been grievously distressed to recognise members of the Assembly among the accused; but that it was persuaded that they themselves would hasten to request the pro-

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secution of a trial, the full result of which might be expected to prove their innocence.

It laid the proceedings under seal on the table, declaring that the greater portion of the evidence was due to the Committee of Inquiry of the Assembly, and complaining of the conduct of that of Paris, which had over and over again refused to hand over the evidence in its hands.

"The Assembly can neither be accuser nor judge," said M. de Mirabeau; "it can only take cognisance of the charges affecting two of its members. I propose to decree that the proceedings shall be sent to the Committee of Inquiry of the Assembly, who will report on the charges affecting two of its members, in order that it may take the necessary steps, should there be any ground of accusation."

The Abbé Maury represented that the immunity of deputies could not extend to every kind of crime, especially when there was any question of the crimes either of treason to the nation or of high treason; that a declaration ought to be made that, all men being equal before the law, the proceedings were sent back to the Châtelet, with instructions to continue the prosecution, an order being sent at the same time to the Committee of Inquiry of the city of Paris to deliver up to that tribunal all the documents that might be considered necessary.

Péthion was astonished at the revival of an affair which he thought had been set at rest, and declared that he considered it would be more, in con-

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formity with the immunity of deputies, if it were left to the Assembly to say whether or not there were grounds of accusation against two of its members who were implicated in the report of the Châtelet.

M. de Cazalès indignantly insisted upon the necessity of giving the greatest publicity to the justification of those who were accused of a crime which weighed on the whole nation, and which would dishonour it for ever, so long as posterity should say, "Infamous assassins placed in danger the life of the Queen, the daughter of Marie Thérèse." The murmurs increased his courage. "Yes," he said, "the daughter of Marie Thérèse, whose name will survive those of the conspirators of that accursed day."

The Assembly decreed that the sealed packet should be opened by the Committee of Inquiry of the Assembly, in the presence of the Commissioners of the Châtelet, before whom an inventory should be made of everything contained in it; that the Committee of Reports should inform the Assembly of any charges against representatives of the nation, should such exist in the proceedings, in order that it might be in a position to say whether or not there was any ground of accusation; that it would not interfere to arrest the course of justice in regard to the other accused persons; and that the Committee of Inquiry of Paris should be compelled to hand to the Commissioners of the Châtelet all evidence and docu-

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ments necessary for the prosecution; and at the instigation of MM. de Cazalès, Malouet, and Dufraisse-Duché, orders were given to put in force the decrees issued against persons outside the Assembly, before the opening of the packet.

The Committee of Inquiry of the city accused the Châtelet of being desirous of bringing about a counter-revolution, by giving to its proceedings the title of the days of the 5th and 6th of October, whereas the events of the latter day were alone in question. The Châtelet replied to this accusation by an address to the Assembly, in which it proved by satisfactory evidence that the depositions of the witnesses showed such a connection between the two days that it was impossible to separate them. Angry voices opposed the continuance of the reading of the address. M. Dufraisse-Duché in vain pointed out that such a refusal would lead to the belief that the Assembly wished to leave unpunished crimes that would sully the Revolution, and that this impunity would cover it and its authors with eternal opprobrium; his representations were not listened to. The majority refused to hear any more of the address, which was relegated to the Committee of Reports.

This Committee requested, in order to enable it to make its report, that the proceedings of the Châtelet should be printed, and M. de Mirabeau demanded that this should be done as quickly as possible. "I am not ignorant that I shall play a

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part in this trial of the Revolution," he said impudently, "but there is more reason to fear the escape of the witnesses than of the accused."

M. Chabroud, entrusted with the report of the Committee of Inquiry, only sought to justify Mirabeau and the Duke d'Orleans. He constrained himself to give to that frightful day the aspect of one of those events in which fate is pleased to put to confusion all human foresight. "The judges," he said, "converted into a certainty what was only a suspicion; witnesses believed they saw what they swore they did, and they were evidently mistaken. The majority of them are not worthy of credence. The Duke d'Orleans and M. de Mirabeau could not have been guilty of what was imputed to them, seeing that both of them were elsewhere than where they were said to have been seen." In the whole of the proceedings he only saw an attempt to put the Revolution on its trial, in order that the imprudence of its enemies might be attributed to its real friends. The dinner of the Body Guard, the well-founded fear of a counter-revolution, the first shots fired upon the people—these were the causes which led up to the results complained of. He accused M. Malouet of placing a sinister interpretation on mere remarks, among others, on a chance exclamation of M. Coraller, who, in a moment of excitement, was led into saying that if M. Necker was not dismissed, the Palais Royal would have been set on fire by way of beginning the Revolution. "As for the misfortunes that came to

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pass on the 6th of October, I leave them," he said, in concluding his horrible speech, "for the instruction of future races, and to furnish a lesson to kings, courtiers, and the nation." He concluded by proposing, in the name of the Committee, that it should be decreed that there was no ground of accusation.

Copies were then read of two letters from M. d'Estaing to the Queen, to prove how well-founded was the prevalent fear that the King had been advised to leave Versailles for Metz. M. d'Estaing spoke in his second letter of the bad effect of the dinner given by the Body Guard, and recommended the Queen to follow the advice he had given her not to surround herself with enemies of the Revolution. These two letters were so vapid and diffuse that the Queen had not condescended to reply to them, and there was considerable astonishment at their being found in the hands of M. Chabroud, who thought fit to make use of them in support of the contention he was maintaining.

M. de Bonnai justified the Body Guard, whose heroism was worthy of being handed down to posterity. The Abbé Maury pointed out, with the eloquence that characterised all his speeches, the falseness of the assertions of M. Chabroud, adding that it was painful to him to hear excuses made for crimes the recollection of which so profoundly afflicted those who really loved their country, as they reflected the dishonour with which she was covering herself by allowing them to go unpunished.

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MM. Malouet, de Montlosier, and Henri de Longuève in vain attempted to discuss the proceedings, and spoke with equal force and wisdom on the necessity for it. But all the reply they got was abuse from M. de Mirabeau of the King, the Châtelet, and the members of the Right. He agreed with Chabroud that an attempt had been made to put the Revolution on its trial. "Without wishing to recall the fact," he said, "that the Throne has wrongs to expiate, and the national vengeance plots to forget, I have a right to accuse the Châtelet of seeking to excite the Provinces against Paris by depicting the King as a captive in his capital, and the Assembly as a body of factious spirits."

M. de Biron justified the Duke d'Orleans, who himself made a speech to the Assembly to prove that the accusations levelled against him were dictated by vengeance; that he ratified the engagement made by M. Biron to bring to light even the minutest details of this obscure affair; and that he would not refuse any information to those whose interest it was to contradict it, or to those who had a right to know all about it. Barnave added that from the moment when the proceedings were sent back to the Committee they were condemned; that they were their own condemnation; that he demanded an expression of the utmost contempt for the Châtelet, its proceedings, and the witnesses; and that whatever the Duke d'Orleans might choose to print would only strengthen the esteem felt for him by the

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nation, on account of his patriotism and his attachment to liberty.

October 2d.—The Assembly, in accordance with the conclusions of the Committee of Inquiry, decreed that there was no ground of accusation.

This decision threw all good people into a state of consternation, for they saw with profound grief the shame it would reflect upon the nation; and it must indeed have been very blind if it preserved the least hope of any good that could be done by an Assembly which degraded itself to the point of shutting its eyes to such crimes, and of protecting their authors. The hundred and forty-eight deputies of the Assembly, exclusive of the witnesses, not being able to bear the idea of associating their names with such a decree, declared and put in print their disapprobation of the Chabroud report in the most energetic terms.

M. d'Albert de Rioms, who justly enjoyed the most distinguished consideration, after having tried every method of restoring subordination in the fleet at Brest, finding himself the object of daily abuse, and being powerless to do any good, sent in his resignation, and was succeeded by M. de Bongainville.

The Assembly directed M. de Menou to report upon the insurrection which had led to the resignation of M. d'Albert de Rioms. Struck by the danger which might result from it, the reporter insisted on the necessity of putting in force, without loss of

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time, every measure calculated to prevent any recurrence of such excesses. But this report having been disapproved of by the demagogues of the Assembly, he, three days afterwards, disavowed all that he had stated, and shifted the blame of the insurrection on to the severity of the officers towards men led astray by excess of patriotism, who could be brought back to the paths of order by mildness and the sight of the tricolor flag, the adoption of which by the French navy he recommended.

Many objections were made in regard to the inconveniences that might result from this measure; but the Assembly declined to listen to any of them, and the proposition to limit the national colours to the tassels so roused the anger of M. de Mirabeau that, not content with giving utterance to a most inflammatory speech, he went to the length of threatening the Right with the popular fury.

M. de Guillermi, unable to listen coolly to such a speech, exclaimed that it was the language of a rebel. A demagogue then opened a window looking on to the Terrasse des Feuillants, and repeated the remark of M. Guillermi to the faithful adherents who were always to be found there. Their hootings, joined to the uproar made by the demagogues, induced the Left of the Assembly, always in a majority, to order M. Guillermi to be placed in arrest for three days, and it was decreed (October 22d) that the French flag should in future be tricolor.

M. de Menou and the demagogues of the

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Assembly took advantage of this circumstance to make a fresh denunciation of Ministers, adding that the King ought to be informed that they had lost the confidence of the nation. M. de Cazalès, in opposing this motion as unconstitutional, inveighed violently against these same Ministers, whom he accused of cowardly indifference, and a want of firmness necessary for the repression of the excesses which were of daily occurrence; as if they were able, any more than M. de Cazalès, to resist the disorganising decrees that paralysed every means of repression. Nobody could imagine the motive of a reproach so out of place under existing circumstances. Several representatives having pointed out the inconvenience of this denunciation, the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

The sections, for their part, met for the purpose of settling among themselves the resignation of Ministers, as if the sections of Paris had a right to govern Paris according to their will. In consequence of this decision, M. Bailly appeared at the head of forty-eight sections, to announce to the Assembly that they were engaged in drawing up an address, in which they were expressing the desire of the entire Commune of Paris for a change of Ministers; that they had come to lay their fears in the lap of the fathers of the country; that those fears might be looked upon as shared in by the whole nation, since Paris comprised in each section a large number of citizens of every Department.

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Danton, formerly an advocate before the Council, who was a really wicked wretch, then made a speech which was a regular diatribe against the Ministers. In it he depicted the Archbishop of Bordeaux as a secret enemy of the Revolution, who, not content with delaying the promulgation of the most important decrees, allowed himself sometimes to alter the text. He reproached him, moreover, with having in his instructions to the Commissioners of the King in the Provinces, commented on the decrees relative to their duties in such a manner as to give them an extension of power detrimental to the Constitution.

He accused M. de Saint Priest with having borrowed from Constantinople the principles of despotism, threatening French heads with his famous Damascus blade; of having been the very soul of the counter-revolution projected by M. de Maillebois; and of having given the King the idea of a military household in order to oppress the patriots and friends of the Revolution.

He reproached M. de la Luzerne and de la Tour du Pin with oppressing the patriotic officers and soldiers, and the latter, in addition, with weakness, vanity, attachment to his parchments, and with having stripped the frontiers for the purpose of bringing troops into the interior of the kingdom.

M. de Montmorin was the only one excluded from this denunciation. The demagogues regarded him as a partisan of liberty, and they had nothing

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essential, they said, wherewith to reproach him. He was, however, profoundly attached to the King, and only flattered the opposite party in the hope of being useful to him. He was mistaken in his calculations, and being compelled to take steps that were repugnant to his heart, he found himself despised by both parties, and he ended by falling a victim to the fury of the Revolution.

Danton concluded his speech by begging the Assembly at once to appoint a supreme National Court to try cases of treason to the nation, and especially the Ministers, against whom there was no need of further proof of guilt than was to be found in their wish to retain office during the framing of the indictment that was about to be brought against them.

The Assembly recognised in the proceedings of the sections the right of petition, and promised to examine any proofs they might bring forward, as they could not be rejected by the King, who owed his people justice and protection.

It could not conceal its uneasiness at the bare idea of seeing the King forming a military household, as it feared that more than anything else; consequently Charles de Lameth protested with his usual vehemence against a measure which was calculated, he said, to place liberty in danger; and he added that the same reason ought to induce a decree, that the King should never command the army in person.

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M. Malouet represented that the dignity of the throne demanded that the King should have a guard appointed by himself; that the Assembly could only consider the number of men to compose it; and that as to the proposition to deprive the King of the command of the Army, it would be equivalent to depriving him of all consideration and authority, to leading the nation insensibly to do without the King, and to perpetuating trouble and anarchy. He was not listened to, nor were the other members of the Assembly who were opposed to such a violation of the Constitution. On the motion of M. de Lameth, the discussion of these two items was remitted to the united Military and Constitution Committees.

No principles were recognised by the Assembly, except submission to the will of the demagogues. To give an idea of the corruption into which it had fallen, a deputy named Lavie had the audacity to propose, at one of the sittings, that God should not be mentioned to the people, that religion should be comprised in the payment of taxes, and that the priests should confine themselves to preaching taxes! taxes! from the pulpit. The Right gave vent to its indignation, but this merely excited the ridicule of its adversaries.

Ministers, finding themselves incapable of doing any good, tendered their resignations to the King. But as his Majesty could not accept them, they retained their places, with the exception of M. de la Luzerne, who reiterated his request, and sent the

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King a detailed account of the Navy at the time of his leaving that department. It consisted of seventy ships of the line and sixty-five sailing frigates, exclusive of twelve ships and six frigates in course of construction or ready to be launched. It was the result of the labours of Louis XVI., who had worked incessantly to create a respectable Navy. Was it not frightful to see a National Assembly delighting in rendering these efforts useless, and in paralysing the zeal of experienced and competent officers by the insubordination which it took a pleasure in fomenting between subordinates and their superiors? The King witnessed with grief the destruction of the object of his care; but feeling that M. de la Luzerne could do nothing against those who only wished its destruction, he accepted his resignation, and at the same time wrote to him that he should never forget his services; and that he felt it necessary to express his satisfaction to him, and to join to it his regret as to his thinking it necessary to leave the Ministry. The King had reason to regret a Minister who had talent and honesty, as well as extreme attachment to his person. Indeed he would gladly have borne all the disagreeableness of his position for the sake of the King, if he had only seen any possibility of being useful to him; but, unable to flatter himself that such would be the case, he preferred an honourable retreat to a futile resistance to the will of an all-powerful Assembly, which wished to make Ministers entirely dependent on itself.

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The King wrote to the Assembly to inform it that he had chosen M. de Fleurieu to be Minister of Marine. The latter promised the Assembly that he would distinguish himself by his zeal in the execution of the law, and the maintenance of public tranquillity. He announced at the same time that the King had chosen M. de Bougainville to replace M. d'Albert de Rioms.

The suppression of the Parliaments, decreed without discussion on the 6th of December 1789, was carried out in the kingdom in the month of October in the following year, and the inferior tribunals received an order to continue their functions until they were replaced. The Parliaments of Bordeaux, Rouen, Grenoble, and Aix, after having protested against this decree, sent a transcript of it to the inferior tribunals. The advocates of that of Aix declared, by the mouth of Pascalis, one of their body, that they were resolved to perish with the Monarchy, and to die faithful servants of the King and the Count de Provence, and they refused to continue their ministry. The President of Cabre had their protest and their names entered on the register of the Court, as an honourable record of their unshaken fidelity.[1] The Parliament of Toulouse protested against all attacks made against religion and

[1] M. Pascalis fell a victim to his courage in the horrors that were committed in 1791; he was one of the first to be massacred by the wretches who desolated these districts, and who reproached him with the firmness and nobility of his conduct, on the occasion of the suppression of the Parliaments.

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the dignity of its ministers; against the abolition of the Orders of the Church; the dismemberment of Languedoc; the annihilation of its privileges, and the letters-patent for the suppression of the Court.

This protest carried alarm into the Assembly. Robespierre made use of it to impute blame to the Executive power, for the name of King no longer existed among the demagogues. MM. de Broglie and Alexandre de Lameth talked of rebellion, and demanded the immediate establishment of the Supreme Court to try the guilty persons. But the Magistrates made their escape into Spain, and so withdrew from the vengeance which the Assembly was prepared to inflict on them for their resistance to its decrees.

The disturbances in Martinique attracted the attention of the Assembly: they were the natural consequence of the disorganising spirit that was disseminated in the Colonies; and all representations about the dangers that might result from them passed unheeded.

The Viscount de Damas, commanding in Martinique, a faithful and loyal servant of the King, endeavoured to preserve for France so precious a colony, while others were hard at work to establish insubordination, and to renew the old quarrels between the Colonial Assembly and the planters. M. de Chabrol, Colonel of the Martinique regiment, took the part of the coloured population, and put himself at their head, followed by the soldiers who had

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abandoned their colours. M. de Damas who, with reason on his side, protected the landowners and the Colonial Assembly, marched against him. M. de Chabrol, having lost many of his men, called upon the inhabitants of Guadaloupe, who were divided equally into two parties, for help. M. de Damas, perceiving the importance of putting an end to this disturbance, made a report upon the state of affairs in Martinique, which was sent to the Assembly, but it, without listening to the arguments he adduced in justification of the conduct he had pursued, and the justice done him by the colonials, ordered his return, simultaneously with the despatch of 6000 men to Martinique and four men-of-war to the French islands.

The inflammatory speeches of Mirabeau and the scandal arising out of the sittings of the Assembly, whose decrees tended to the disorganisation of the kingdom, determined M. de la Tour du Pin to represent to the King that if he intended to withdraw from Paris, this was the opportune moment; that he saw that he should be compelled to tender his resignation, but that before doing so he could, without giving umbrage to the Assembly, so arrange the movements of several regiments as to protect his Majesty's route; that the residence of his Majesty at Saint Cloud afforded great facilities for escape, and that if this opportunity were lost it would be difficult to find another like it; that he did not presume to anticipate the plans of his Majesty, but

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that, as a faithful and devoted subject, he thought it his duty to submit these considerations to him. It would have been a fortunate thing for France if the King had adopted them. M. de Bouillé at that time had the confidence of two or three Departments, and the journey would in all probability have had an issue far different from that which befell the one we shall have to describe.

The result of the proceedings in regard to the events of the 5th and 6th of October made the King hesitate, and there was a belief that he was going to decide in favour of the step recommended to him by M. de la Tour du Pin. But the dread of a civil war, which would cause bloodshed among his subjects, was so deeply impressed on his mind that he could not make up his mind to leave, and he still clung to the hope that the nation would spontaneously open its eyes to the misfortunes occasioned by the decrees of the Assembly; that the natural inconsistency of the latter would in the end discredit it; that its violence and despotism, compared with his own goodness and moderation, would bring back all wise and moderate men to him easily, and without recourse being had to violence, and that peace would be re-established in the kingdom. This illusion, the outcome of a heart full of honesty and goodness, was destroyed in a very cruel manner.

The Royal Family sorrowfully anticipated the moment of their return to Paris. At Saint Cloud they had the advantage of being removed from the populace,

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who, paid to create disturbances, daily thronged the Tuileries and increased the unpleasantness of that residence. Mgr. the Dauphin enjoyed Saint Cloud extremely; his health improved, and his mind developed day by day in the most astonishing manner. Already, though he was only five years of age, he had a natural bent for study, a good memory, and great delight in his lessons. He was accustomed to reply of his own accord to the compliments addressed to him, and it was preferred that his replies should be short, rather than that ideas should be suggested to him which were not his own. They were merely rectified when they did not happen to be correct. That occasionally made him angry, but in the end he always found out what to say, and in this way he grew accustomed by himself to utter kind and gracious words. One day he made us laugh heartily on the subject of the Dauphin-Dragon regiment. When this regiment was passing through Paris, the Count de Choiseul d'Aillecourt, who was its Colonel, wrote to me to express his regret that he could not present to Mgr. the Dauphin a regiment worthy of his kindness by reason of its attachment and fidelity. He begged me to convey to the Prince his own feelings and those of the regiment. "*Mon Dieu!*" said Mgr. the Dauphin, "how nice it is to have a regiment at my age, and how I should like to see it!" "What answer shall I give from you, Monseigneur?" "That is an awkward question. Answer for me, please." "I shall say that Mgr. the Dauphin,

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not knowing at his age what to say, will reply when he is older." "How wicked you are," he said to me, "and what will my regiment say of me?" He flew into a violent rage, stamping his feet and clapping his hands; and when he saw that we only laughed at him, he said, looking very severely at me,—"Well, I will reply myself, seeing that you will not help me. Tell M. de Choiseul that I should have liked very much to see my regiment, and to put myself at its head, and that I beg him to say so on my behalf; and at the same time thank him with all my heart for what he has said on behalf of himself and the regiment." I kissed him, and he thanked me when he saw that everybody approved of his reply. This young Prince, whose every word was replete with charming grace, already gave evidence of firmness, combined with the kindness inherent in all the Bourbons. He was consequently beloved by all who were brought in contact with him and were in a position to know him.

No sooner had the King returned to Paris than the inflammatory motions and articles recommenced more violently than ever. Royalty was bitterly attacked, the nobility and priests daily calumniated; and as the violence and crimes of the wretches in the various provinces still went on with impunity, their perpetrators were encouraged to continue their excesses.

The King, seeing that his Ministers were hindered in all their operations, and were exposed to incessant

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denunciations, determined, although with reluctance, to call upon them to resign. M. de la Fayette intrigued energetically to secure the appointment of a Ministry of his own creatures; and on his assuring the King of support from his party, he was allowed to form one.

The office of Chancellor and Keeper of the Privy Seal was abolished, and M. Duport du Tertre, who replaced the Archbishop of Bordeaux, merely had the title of Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Privy Seal. M. du Portail was appointed Minister of War; and M. Valdec de Lessart, Controller of Finance, in the room of M. Lambart. To this department was afterwards added that of the Minister of the Interior.[1] The King informed the Assembly of these various appointments, and the new Ministers made profession of their devotion, and their determination to insist on an observance of the law.

M. Duport du Tertre added in his letter to the Assembly that he had reluctantly accepted office, but that he had thought that it would have been a bad example if a man honoured with the confidence of the people had not thought himself worthy of that of the King.

M. du Portail said that he could not but yield to his desire to take an active part in so glorious a

[1] M. Duport du Tertre, formerly a Parliamentary advocate, became elector, Municipal Officer, and Administrator of Police. M. de Lessart was formerly Master of Requests; and M. du Portail, a soldier, had served under M. de la Fayette in the American War.

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revolution, by securing, through the efforts of his zeal, the execution of the laws made by the august representatives of the nation, and by reducing to practice their sublime theory. He then went to the Jacobin Club to give utterance to the same sentiments, appeared in a red cap, and by this conduct allowed it to be seen what was to be expected from such a Minister.

It was evident that the intention of the Assembly was to entirely discredit the Ministry, and to hand over to committees the various branches of the Administration, so as eventually to arrive at the abolition of Royalty. M. de la Fayette himself, for fear of losing his popularity, took care to realise the expectations he had aroused, and showed himself always the same under all circumstances where he might have been thought to be reliable.

The appointment of the new Ministry did not diminish the violence of the Assembly. Far from disapproving of the excesses committed at Avignon, it appeared to authorise them, by sending there the troops asked for by the insurgents, listening favourably to their repeated requests for the union of the Comtat with France, and with the most marked disfavour to the arguments adduced by the Abbé Maury and M. de Clermont-Tonnerre on the danger of such a union. If it did not accede at once to a request so urgently made by MM. Bouche and Camus, it was easy to see that it was only waiting for a more opportune moment.

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It contented itself with liberating the prisoners confined at Orange, without disapproving of the injustice of their imprisonment or of the excesses committed at Avignon, and it left that unhappy town in a state of continual dread of a renewal of the scenes which had made it a scene of terror and desolation.

It pursued the same line of conduct in regard to the report on the Nancy affair. M. de Sillery, the reporter, took good care not to blame the regiments which mutinied. He permitted perfidious insinuations against M. de Bouillé and the officers who had supported him. Excepting only the friends of the Constitution, he blamed the Municipality, and proposed that nothing further should be done in the proceedings initiated by the bailiwick; that all the prisoners should be set at liberty; and that the King should be requested to demand from the Swiss Cantons the pardon of the men of the Châteauvieux regiment. He concluded by demanding the disbandment of the regiments of the King and Mestre de Camp.

MM. de Cazalès, de Clermont-Tonnerre, and de Virieu spoke strongly against the decree proposed by M. de Sillery, pointed out its danger, and demonstrated that it would destroy the one that had been passed; that it tended only to favour disorder and insurrection in the Army; and that it would deprive of the reward of their conduct all those who had prevented the disasters consequent

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on such an insurrection. They proposed to confine the decree to the disbandment of the two regiments, retaining the services, until retirement, of the officers who had conducted themselves with so much wisdom and moderation. They were not listened to. The Assembly decreed the disbandment of the two regiments, the annulment of the proceedings already commenced, and the release of the soldiers and other prisoners implicated in the affair; it revoked the approval it had bestowed on the Municipality and the Directory, and approved the courage displayed by the Municipalities of Metz, Toul, and Pont-à-Mousson, on the occasion of the putting in force of the law.

The election of the judges of Paris was proceeded with, and only zealous patriots were appointed, such as MM. Ogier and Garaud de Coulon (who had figured in such an iniquitous manner in the trial of M. de Bezenval), M. Hérault de Séchelles, once Advocate-General to the Parliament of Paris; and M. Bigot de Préameneu. The six Presidents of the Tribunals were:—MM. Freteau, Duport, Target, Treilhard, Touret, and Mesleu, all Members of the Assembly. Chabroud was also put in nomination, but could not obtain the necessary plurality of votes.

The members of the Left, secure of the popular favour, were most outspoken in their very indiscreet remarks against their opponents. Charles de Lameth, in an altercation he had with M. de Chauvigny, the consequences of which he foresaw, went so far as to

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say publicly that the Duke de Castries had put M. de Chauvigny at his heels. The latter, indignant at such a remark, challenged M. de Lameth, and they fought in the Bois de Boulogne. M. de Lameth, fortunately, was only wounded, for the people, furious at the mere wounding of a deputy whom they looked upon as one of the warmest partisans of the Revolution, made a violent attack on the Hôtel de Castries, pillaged all the rooms, and would assuredly have massacred M. de Castries if he had not been prudent enough to leave France at once.

M. de la Fayette, although warned of the popular fury against M. de Castries, arrived too late to prevent the disturbance. His commiseration for this unworthy populace, whom he treated as friends and children, and whom he essayed to bring back by mild measures and the display of the white horse they all knew, did not prevent them from continuing their work of pillage in his presence, and he could only succeed with his National Guard in hindering the destruction of the house. M. de Castries, being no longer safe in Paris, requested and obtained leave of absence from the Assembly, which was despatched to him at Lausanne, where he had taken refuge.

Posterity will find it difficult to believe that such excesses found defenders in the Assembly, and that M. de Mirabeau, rendered furious by the indignation displayed by the members of the Right, went so far as to say that the incessant accusations brought against

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the people roused their anger, and that he was glad, in regard to those who abused their patience, that a few examples should, by frightening them, hinder them from continuing their opposition to law and reason. The Right could not contain itself, and rose to bear witness to the horror inspired in them by so atrocious a remark. M. Roy, deputy of Angoulême, could not help adding that it was the remark of a rebel. The Left protested violently, and the galleries joined them; shouts, insults, groans, and demands for the imprisonment of M. Roy, rendered this sitting one of the most scandalous hitherto held. In the midst of this tumult M. Roy was condemned to imprisonment for three days in the Abbaye.

Such scenes were of daily recurrence. There was one of the same kind at the opera. The demagogues, who attached the greatest importance to the speedy establishment of the new constitution of the Clergy, sought by every means in their power to strike terror into the people they thought were opposed to them.

As entertainments and public places appeared to them to be fitted to further their object, they promoted disturbances in them, in the hope of causing the King and the Royal Family keen anxiety in regard to the veto His Majesty might put on the decree which the Assembly proposed to pass on this subject.

A performance of *Iphigénie* was given at the opera, and the chorus, *Célébrons notre Reine*, was

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loudly applauded and encored by the Royalists. There were a few hisses and murmurs from the opposite party, but as they were not present in large numbers they could not prevent the encore. The discontent of the opposition increased when Lainez was bold enough to say, "I think, gentlemen, that every good Frenchman ought to love the King and Queen," and when at the conclusion of this remark a laurel wreath was thrown to him, the anger of the demagogues knew no bounds. The uproar was frightful. They, however, allowed the performance to go on until the end, resolving to avenge the insult they thought they had received.

Two days afterwards, when Lainez was playing the part of Jephtha, the Revolutionists, who had secured nearly all the seats in the pit, hurled the most bloodthirsty reproaches at him, made the most outrageous remarks about the women and young people in the boxes, and would not allow Lainez to continue acting until he had trampled under his feet the crown he had received on the previous evening. The pleasure of revenge was not the only object of the uproar; it was a deliberate attempt to rouse the public mind, to make a disturbance, and to create a dread of some fresh revolution.

No more sad situation could be imagined than that of the King and Queen. The daily and renewed insults of which they were the recipients, the disastrous news from the Provinces, the stagna-

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tion in commerce, existing evils, and anxiety for the future, filled them with profound sadness. But, in the midst of such distress, the Queen ever maintained the calmness and dignity suitable to the high station to which Heaven had called her.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE YEAR 1791.

Civil Constitution of the Clergy—Oath exacted on this Subject—Refusal of the Majority of the Clergy—Persecutions in consequence—Removal of several Bishops and Priests—Formation of various Clubs in Paris and the Provinces—Disturbances in the Southern Provinces—Attempt to form a Monarchical Club—Its Establishment is not allowed by the Demagogues.

THE Assembly this year still thought itself bound to give the King a mark of consideration (one cannot say respect), and the speeches to the King and the Royal Family were far less measured than in the preceding year. It was difficult for it to repress sentiments too directly opposed to its acknowledged object of depreciating the King, in order to be able to do without him more easily by accustoming to his loss a people which it had rendered submissive by the hopes with which it daily deceived it.

Not content with having despoiled the clergy of their property, it wished to take upon itself the regulation of the spiritual duties of the Church; to suppress a large number of dioceses; to unite them to those it saw fit to retain; to decide upon the mode

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of election of bishops, priests, members of chapters and of ecclesiastical councils; in a word, to render itself mistress of the spiritual as well as of the temporal portion of the Church, and it did so in a formal decree.

The bishops, after having defended the ecclesiastical properties with remarkable moderation, when once the decree was passed, uttered neither complaint nor personal recrimination against the injustice to which they were subject. This admirable resignation displeased the Assembly, which had flattered itself that they would incite their adherents to revolt, and so justify the iniquity of its conduct. Deceived in this matter, it employed every means that wickedness could suggest to lower them in the public estimation, and it ended by decreeing that each member of the clergy should be compelled to give his adhesion to the decree which had just been passed in regard to the civil constitution of the clergy, on pain of losing his position and emoluments. It flattered itself that, in thus putting the clergy to the necessity of choosing between poverty and conscience, the majority would take the oath, and that so the project of Mirabeau to de-catholicise France would be carried out.

This step not meeting with any more success, it excited the populace against various members of the clergy, thinking that the fear of being exposed to its fury would render them less inflexible; but, finding them insensible to any other sentiments than those

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of honour and duty, it decreed that each bishop, priest, or other public functionary should individually take the oath, hoping by this means to bring over some bishops to its party. The latter, ever animated by a spirit of peace and concord, offered to take a form of oath drawn up by the Bishop of Clermont, who expressly stated that it referred to temporal matters only, everything concerning spiritual matters being excluded, and demanded that they should be allowed to confer with the Sovereign Pontiff, from whom they could not separate themselves. MM. Malouet, de Cazalès, and the Abbé Maury spoke forcibly as to the difference between true liberty and the violence brought to bear on conscience. But they were not listened to. A period of eight days was fixed for the acceptance or refusal of the oath, and the King was strenuously urged to sign the decree. The position of his Majesty was frightful. Placed between his conscience and the misfortunes which were pointed out to him as inevitable in the event of his refusal, he requested time to confer with the Pope as to the means of conciliation which could be adopted to comply with the wish of the Assembly without wounding the consciences of the bishops and clergy. He sent word to say that he had written to the Pope on the subject, and that he wished to wait for his reply.

The Assembly, far from seeing things in this light, pressed M. Duport du Tertre, on the other

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hand, to persuade the King to sanction the decree promptly. M. du Tertre, who looked upon himself as the Minister of the Assembly rather than of the King, and who had no other fear than that of displeasing it, harassed the unhappy Prince at all hours of the day. He pointed out to him the fury of the populace, which would inevitably fall on the ecclesiastics and the members of the Assembly who shared their opinions, and the massacre consequent on his refusal of the decree, a massacre which might take place under the very eyes of the King. The noise outside the Assembly increased, of course by arrangement; the most inflammatory pamphlets were hawked about; and cruelty was carried to such a pitch that the King was made to fear for the lives of his family and the inhabitants of the Tuileries, for it was well known that his own personal safety counted for nothing with him, nor did it influence his decisions in the least.[1]

Everything in connection with religion was in a state of consternation. Madame Elizabeth urged the King not to allow himself to be intimidated by the fears inspired by a Minister incapable of attaching the least value to anything concerning the Monarchy, or to religion, its firmest support.

The King held out for a long time, but, overcome

[1] I have been assured, but I cannot vouch for it, that the Ministers intercepted the reply of the Pope, and did not choose to give it to the King, because by withholding it they were able more easily to obtain his sanction to a decree to which they attached such value.

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by the fear of bloodshed, he, on the 26th of December, 1790, gave the sanction so longed for by the rebels and so dreaded by the friends of the Monarchy.

He flattered himself that the violence used towards him, and the bondage in which he was held, would render all these sanctions null and void, and that in the end order would spring from the excess of evil, a hope which he never abandoned.

On the day following the sanction of the King, the Abbé Grégoire, at the head of fifty-one ecclesiastics of the Left of the Assembly, presented himself to take the oath. He could not, he said, do violence to his conscience, the Assembly never having pretended to attack the authority of the Head of the Church, a fact amply proved by the title "*civil* constitution of the clergy," which it had given to the new organisation. He concluded with an assurance that they would all of them honour the priesthood by the purity of their morals and by their strict fulfilment of the duties of their position.

The bishops, in order to enlighten the public mind in regard to the civil constitution of the clergy, had published a work called "Exposition des Principes sur la Constitution Civile du Clergé," a work replete with wisdom and sense, and signed by all the bishops, with the exception of MM. de Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun; de Jarente, Bishop of Orleans; de Savine, Bishop of Valence; and de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens. A complaint was

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made about this pamphlet in the Assembly, which, on the 4th of January 1791, the day on which the eight days allowed to the clergy expired, exacted the oath from the bishops, priests, and other ecclesiastics who were members of the Assembly, and decreed that they should present themselves in alphabetical order to take it.

The crowds which surrounded the hall made the air resound with their shouts and menaces, hoping by means of their horrid din to succeed in frightening the clergy under such critical circumstances. They failed in their attempt, and the day will be for ever memorable in the annals of the Church.

The Bishop of Agen, who was the first to speak, declared that he had no regret either for his position or his fortune, but that as he was obliged to listen to the voice of his conscience, he could only express to the Assembly his regret at not being able to take the oath. All the bishops, with the exception of those above enumerated, refused each in his turn, and many of them explained the motive of their refusal, in a simple and touching manner. "I am seventy years of age," said the Bishop of Poitiers; "I have spent thirty-five of them in the episcopate, in which I have done all the good in my power. Overwhelmed with years and infirmities, I will not dishonour my old age by taking an oath against my conscience, and I will bear my fate in patience." This touching speech was received with hooting from

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the galleries and the Left of the Assembly. M. Émery, the President, astonished at the firmness of the clergy, and fearing lest their extreme moderation, in such striking contrast with the insults of the Assembly, might in the end make some impression, decided that the only answer to the question should be in the words, "I accept," or "I refuse."

MM. Cazalès and d'Eprémenil represented the injustice of preventing the clergy from explaining the motives of their refusal, and even quoted the example of the martyrs, to whom this privilege had never been denied by the pagan emperors. No reply was vouchsafed to them. Never was more complete tyranny exercised than on this day. Two priests, MM. Fournès and Le Clerc, spoke in the same strain as their bishops, and more than half the priests declined to take the oath.

The Assembly was not more fortunate on the 5th and 6th: more than twenty priests retracted the oaths they had taken on the previous evening; and M. Barnave, alarmed at these retractations, decided that no more should be received. An attempt was made to intimidate those who had neither taken nor refused the oath by means of insults heaped on those who had set the example of refusal. The Assembly and the crowd were let loose upon them. They were compared to tigers and wild beasts, who wished, so it was said, to bring about a civil war in France, in order to recover the property of which they had

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been so justly deprived. A drama entitled, *Le Despotisme renversé, ou la Prise de la Bastille*, was distributed gratis, at the end of which the people were represented as taking the civil oath, and the orchestra played the air, "Ça ira, ça ira, les aristocrates à la lanterne," etc., etc.

On the following day lists were sold in the streets of the bishops and priests who had not taken the oath, and of those who, it was supposed, would not take it. MM. Bailly, Duport du Tertre, and Desmeuniers made use of every means of persuasion and terror to gain over such of the priests as had the most influence over the faithful. They went to their houses at night, woke them up, and urged them to take the oath. They made special efforts to gain over the *Curé* of Sainte Marguerite, a venerable priest more than ninety years of age, into the idea that they would thus make an impression on his mind. But as they could not produce any effect on the firmness of these ecclesiastics, they caused notices to be posted on the doors of the churches, bearing a warning at the head of the decree on the civil constitution of the clergy, to the effect that those who refused to comply with it would be regarded as disturbers of public order. M. Bailly and the two others abovementioned, who were looked upon as the secret authors of these notices, only had them removed when they had had the anticipated effect, and they then excused the proceeding as an error committed in their offices. Such malpractice, which deserved ex-

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emplary punishment, went for nothing, in spite of the remonstrances of MM. Malouet and de Cazalès against the attrocity of such conduct.

The churches were filled with brigands of both sexes on the day when the Municipal authorities went to insist upon the oath, which was to be taken at the conclusion of the sermon. Scarcely was it ended than the tumult began. The brigands made the air resound with repeated shouts of "The oath! The oath! To the lamp-post!" No idea can be given of the scandal, which was greater at Saint Sulpice than anywhere else. The madmen forced a passage through the clergy, the Municipal authorities, and the grenadiers who escorted the priest on his way to the vestry after refusing to take the oath. They one and all threatened to strike him; one of them gave him a blow with his fist, a second tore his hair, and a third presented a pistol at his head. The Marshal de Mouchi, who was at mass, never left the priest, and even parried several blows that were aimed at him. M. Bailly arrived as usual when the danger was over. This was not the first experience of the kind undergone by this priest, in spite of his extreme charity to the poor, among whom he had distributed more than 60,000 francs of his patrimony during the three years he had held the living of Saint Sulpice.

In the course of the winter of 1790-91, he gave notice of a service in his church, at the conclusion of which he was to give an account of the sums he had

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received from the benefactors of the poor in his parish. A band of brigands was despatched to Saint Sulpice on that day, who filled the church and surrounded the parsonage, calling out loudly for the priest. Everybody was in a state of consternation, and thought his last hour was come. Flight was impossible; it would have had an appearance of cowardice, which would have been disastrous under the circumstances. Firmness alone could save him. His clergy, after having declared that they would die with him, went to fetch him in procession, put him in his pulpit, and the young priests took up a position on the steps, thoroughly resolved to make a rampart for him of their bodies. The brigands then shouted, "Give us a sermon." He reflected for a moment, and then improvised a sermon on the Last Judgment, which made such an impression that silence succeeded to tumult, and when the priest, leaving the pulpit, commenced the collection, each of these brigands put in a silver piece, and the collection amounted to 1500 francs, palpable evidence that they had been paid to create the disturbance.

No stone was left unturned to impress the public mind in favour of the new Civil Constitution of the Clergy. A deputation of the electors of the city of Paris was sent to the Assembly to congratulate it on its talents, and the great virtues of which it furnished an example to Europe. The actor Larrive was the spokesman, and the speech was written by Céréti. "You have," he said to them, "made the Throne, the

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Legislature, the Monarchy, and Christianity eternal. We look upon every priest who is opposed or unfaithful to the oath as a traitor to God and the people, and we come to protest to you that in spite of all stratagems employed to instil doubts of the purity of our religious opinions, we will only choose ecclesiastics worthy of the nation and the altar."

Alquier proposed to entrust the Ecclesiastical Committees with the preparation of a pastoral instruction to bring back the clergy to the institutions of its divine founder.

The opposition to the oath was not general among the ecclesiastics of the second rank. There were a tolerable number of them among the members of the Assembly who took it. The Abbé Mouchel, Rector of the University, and always on the side of the strongest, spoke in the name of this famous school, although he was only recognised by a small number of professors and fellows, and he congratulated the Assembly on the virtues it had transplanted into a kingdom where, before its sittings, only tyrants and slaves had been known. Several ecclesiastics who, like him, aspired to replace those who refused the oath, outdid even him in eulogy. They were not mistaken in their expectation. Nearly all of them were made bishops, and the Abbé Mouchel, in particular, was elected Bishop of Nantes.

Mirabeau, for his part, concocted an inflammatory address to be sent to the Departments. In it he inveighed against the clergy in the most truculent

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terms, attributing to them all sorts of perfidious sentiments. He accused them of persuading the people that religion and the Revolution could not exist together, instead of, by their conduct, leading them to recognise only God the creator of nature and religion, and to sacrifice only on the altar of their country.

The object of the oath was to eliminate from the clergy, the bishops, the noble ecclesiastics, and all those whose attachment to religion, honour, and the Monarchy rendered them enemies to maxims contrary to public morality, and who, by their speeches and example, restrained the people within the limits of submission to the law.

In order to excite the people still more against the clergy and against those persons who were able to place obstacles in the way of destructive projects, Chapelier passed a decree, allowing the performance at the theatres of any piece whatsoever, without submitting it to the censor. Otherwise, he said, whoever spoke of liberty and tyrants would be obliged to strike out sacred maxims if the licensed companies refused to utter them.

Theatrical licence was then directed principally against the clergy, and it redoubled its efforts to make them odious. When one looks back upon the productions of the century which modestly called itself the century of light, one is astonished at the bad taste and fanaticism of the pieces to which licence gave birth.

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To the administrative bodies was entrusted the execution of the law of the 26th of December, which provided for the replacing of the clerical public functionaries who refused the oath, and the 16th of January was the date fixed for this replacement. On the previous day, Fréron, Marat, and other libellers, entrusted with the task of rousing the streets, only spoke of conspiracies, the arrival of foreigners in France who were subsidised by the Princes and the Nobility, and indulged in the most atrocious insults to the bishops and priests who had refused the oath, whom they were going, they said, to replace by ecclesiastics full of the holy spirit of citizenship.

The new pastors were chosen by the Jacobins. These latter had rightly foreseen that there would be a schism in the Church, and that the majority of the faithful would not recognise them, and would cease to go to church; but they knew at the same time that the people, without being animated by the same spirit, would follow their example, and would by degrees get out of the habit of going to divine service—a change which would allow them to suppress public worship, which they would cause to be performed only by men devoted to themselves, in order to accustom the people to do without it.

The constitutional priests had, as their leader, the Bishop of Autun, who took upon himself the ordination of his new colleagues. The Archbishop of Sens, who had only accepted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy through fear of having an inquiry made into

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his administration during the period of his ministry, wrote to the Pope to acquaint him with his motive in taking the oath with his lips alone—an oath in which his heart had no share. The Pope, in reply, reproached him with the dishonour he had brought upon the Roman purple by accepting and putting in force the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, by suppressing his Chapter, and by being elected to a foreign See. "The excuse which you give," said the Pontiff, "is not only unworthy of the sanctity of the oath, but also of the probity natural to an honest man." He added that if he did not repair, by a prompt retractation, the scandal he had occasioned, he should be compelled to deprive him of his dignity. M. de Brienne, by way of reply, sent him his cardinal's hat. His cowardice did not exempt him from the persecutions he dreaded. The imprudence of his conduct compelled him frequently to have recourse to lying. He could not deceive the Jacobins, and the fear of the scaffold made him put an end, with his own hand, to his sad career, lest he should run the risk of falling into their power.

The publication of the pontifical letter confirmed in their principles those who had declared against the oath, and shook the resolution of many of those who had decided in favour of submission. The fury of the Jacobins became still more fierce; and in order to have satellites always at hand to do their bidding, they collected in Paris malefactors of every country, and every corner of France. This class of criminals,

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who did not belong to any nation, led the populace astray, and struck terror into all good citizens by appearing in the streets, at the theatres, and other public places.

The haunt of these brigands was an underground cellar under the Jacobin Club, where workmen, artisans, water-carriers, and destitute and worthless men and women congregated. They founded other clubs in the suburbs and other quarters of the capital. There was even one in the Rue Jacob, where only people without house or home were received. There, under the auspices of Prud'homme, the founder of this club, the most violent diatribes were read against religion, kings, the nobility, and the clergy; and those who frequented it were familiarised by every possible means with maxims which would have made them shudder in less corrupt times.

Another club, composed of persons of superior station, was formed in the Cirque du Palais Royal, under the name of *Bouche de Fer*. It had Biauzac as president, and as its principal orator the same Abbé Fauchet who, after having calumniated the nobility and the clergy from the pulpit on two occasions, and denounced kings as tyrants, preached in this club in the name of nature against religion, the throne, and the inequality of wealth.

The Departments also had their clubs, composed of the worst classes, young and enthusiastic men, and men of mature age, but turbulent disposition. They discussed the natural rights, condemned every

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old custom, and undertook the duties of Committees of Inquiry, Inspectors of Municipalities, and informers; violating domiciles, and even opening letters. They had, moreover, informers' offices, and a system of prosecution.

The ardour of their patriotism led them to found clubs even in the villages, and France was covered with them from one end to the other. They corresponded with each other, and under the direction of those in Paris, constituted a power all the more formidable because it was raised on the ruins of the Orders and Corporations which had sprung into being under the Monarchy. It comprised all classes of citizens, and exercised its despotism over individual liberty and property. Achard de Bon-Vouloir, a deputy, was courageous enough to denounce to the Assembly the danger of allowing such a power to establish itself. He was interrupted with discordant shouts, and his motion was referred to the Committee of Reports, where it remained buried with many others of the same kind.

These new clubs sent emissaries into the country districts to instruct the people, and incite them against the unsworn bishops and priests, to whom they gave the name of deserters. The authorities of the districts and Departments, and the Municipalities, for their part, passed resolutions in which they stigmatised these same ecclesiastics as rebels and disturbers of the public peace. They also incited the people against their pastors, and led them

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to despise religion, to which state of things their demoralisation naturally succeeded. These insults and calumnies, circulated throughout France, were the prelude to the horrible persecution of the clergy, and the massacres consequent on it.

The Jacobin Club in Paris sent to the Departments a list of the persons selected by it for the episcopate. They chose them first of all from among the members of the Assembly, to whom they allotted the best bishoprics. The remainder they distributed among the most conspicuous ecclesiastics of the Revolution. These new bishops, aware of the value of the goodwill of the Assembly, to which they owed their fortune, sent it professions of faith worthy of its approbation. Violence was employed to compel priests whose weakness was known, to take the oath, and those who refused were replaced in the same manner as the bishops.

These innovations encountered resistance in several places, and especially in Brittany. The National Guard and troops of the line were armed against the recalcitrants, and similar violence was resorted to in several Departments. This was the result of the speech of M. de Lameth, who dared to say before the Assembly that everything was lawful for the purpose of assuring the Revolution. The philosophers, Protestants, and Jansenists, a great number of whom had adopted its principles, took upon themselves the task of animating the people in the villages and country districts, by

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telling them that the clergy had, in their resistance, no other object than the re-imposition of the tithes and other imposts which formerly weighed so heavily on the people; and by making use of such representations they easily succeeded in effecting their object.

The Assembly, on a simple denunciation without formal proof, ordered the Bishops of Tréguier, Saint-Malo, and Saint Paul de Léon to appear at the bar of the House; suspended the Council of the Bas-Rhin, which was accused of having dealt too leniently with the unsworn priests; and authorised the Commissioners of the King to replace it, although by the Constitution the people alone had the right of choosing the members of it.

M. de Saint Priest, seeing no way of being useful to the King, tendered his resignation, and his portfolio was given to M. de Lessart. M. de Montmorin was the only one of the old Ministers who remained in office, in the hope of being useful to the King. He never ceased to pay great respect to the Assembly, and to propitiate the demagogues, who consequently were pleased to see him remain at his post. But this conduct, which was of no advantage to him in their eyes, drew upon him the dislike of the Royalists, who did not do justice to the motives by which he was actuated, but looked upon him as an ingrate who abandoned the party of the King, to whose friendship he owed his entire fortune.

M. de Vauvilliers, a distinguished member of the

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Commune of Paris, being unwilling to be connected with the violence used against the clergy, sent in his resignation. He had strongly opposed the establishment of the Committee of Inquiry in Paris, and had spoken with great energy about the danger of a tribunal so contrary to liberty. Placed in and at the head of the Commissariat Office, he there gave proof of his talents. As soon as he knew Louis XVI. he became profoundly attached to him, and was held in high esteem by him. Exceedingly well educated, he devoted himself entirely to the study of literature and science. He might well have been thought to be outside the pale of persecution, but he was not so. Obliged to leave his country, he took refuge in Russia, where he was treated with the consideration due to his talents and virtues.

As the disturbances in the south spread in an alarming manner, a considerable number of the citizens of Aix resolved to form a club under the title of the "Defenders of religion, law, and property." Its aim was to render assistance to the Municipalities in case of disturbances, and they informed the Municipality of Aix of the existence of this association.

On the following day the Revolutionists assembled at its place of meeting, and in the *cafés* of the town where the Royalists were wont to congregate, provoked them to such an extent that their resentment was aroused, and in spite of the wisdom they displayed in avoiding violence, these brigands

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accused them of having fired several shots. Under this pretext, they pillaged several houses, and seized MM. Pascalis and de la Roquette, whom they took to prison. The Municipality remained inactive, refrained from calling out the military, and allowed the prison to be broken open by the brigands, who dragged MM. Pascalis and de la Roquette out and hanged them on the trees in the public promenade of the town. M. de Guiramond, who fled into the country, was pursued, seized, and dealt with in the same way. M. Lieutaud, formerly a Commandant in the National Guard, and in correspondence with Mirabeau, was imprisoned by the rioters for having tried to restore order in the town and to organise the National Guard on a basis which would render it useful in case of need. Consternation reigned at Aix, and when peace was restored to it, more than two thousand persons demanded their passports to leave the unhappy town.

The murders and ravages committed from day to day in Quercy, determined several gentlemen of that district to form an association for mutual defence in case of attack; but as they were not strong enough, they failed in the attempt. M. d'Esqueyrac, who was one of the members, perceiving that he was without any means of defence against the brigands who were bent on attacking him, made up his mind to take refuge in Languedoc, and on his way thither passed by the residence of M. de Clarac, who suddenly found himself besieged. Both endeavoured to defend

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themselves, but as the brigands set fire to the house, they were compelled to seek safety in flight. M. d'Esqueyrac was killed while endeavouring to make his way through the flames, and M. de Clarac was reduced to hide himself in a cellar, where he had a narrow escape of being crushed to death by the fall of his house. He and one of his friends remained for twenty-four hours buried in the ruins. They were rescued by the exertions of some people who were able to save their lives, but could not help their being dragged to prison by the frenzied populace. The Public Prosecutor was not ashamed to pronounce M. de Clarac guilty of having fired a shot with a pistol, though he stated on his honour that such was not the case.

All public functionaries, however, were not rascals. A large number of them were only led astray, or so terrified that, while groaning over the crimes that were committed, they had not the courage to oppose them. Nearly all good people, fearful of being associated with the vast number of ruthless blackguards who filled the public places, withdrew and left the field clear for them.

A new club was formed under the title, "Friends of the Monarchical Constitution," among the members of which were MM. Malouet, de Clermont-Tonnerre, de Virieu, and several others professing the same opinions. They took the precaution of informing the Mayor and the Commandant of Paris, and then commenced their meetings. As many people ex-

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pressed their intention of joining them, the Jacobins in alarm resolved to attack the club by every means in their power. They first of all called it the "Impudent Monarchists." Then taking advantage of its having distributed bread to the poor under the market price, they accused it of endeavouring to corrupt the people, and the club received an order to suspend its meetings until it should please M. Cayer de Gerville, Procureur of the Commune, to institute proceedings in conformity with an order given him by the Oratory Section. The club submitted under protest, and demanding justice for such a violation of the Constitution. Several clubs of the same kind which were formed at Grénoble and other towns in the kingdom were similarly forced to dissolve, as being contrary to liberty! The Jacobins alone had the right of forming such clubs, and each crime or act of violence on their part was always excused on the plea that it was with the object of foiling an attempt at a counter revolution.

Permission was given some time afterwards for the re-opening of the Monarchical Club, but the Jacobins, in order to frighten the members, organised a band of ruffians who threatened to set fire to the house of M. Clermont-Tonnerre. He was warned of it, left the Assembly at once, and by his firmness succeeded in dispersing the gang. M. Bailly, who always arrived at the conclusion of these disorders, and who invariably smoothed over the violence of the hirelings of the Jacobins, assured the Assemb

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that the gathering was of no importance, and was already quite orderly when he arrived on the scene. If the people had been as easily aroused as they were at the beginning of the Revolution, M. Malouet, who was ominously threatened on going to the assistance of M. Clermont-Tonnerre, would have been torn in pieces; but they were fortunately beginning to be tired of insurrections, seeing that they were no longer set on foot except by the hirelings of the Jacobins. MM. Victor de Broglie, Alexandre de Lameth, and de Beauharnais, who were afraid of the establishment of the Monarchical Club, uttered the most violent abuse of it at the Jacobin meetings. Barnave, who lost no opportunity of sapping the foundations of the Monarchy by destroying its supports, seconded them, and they intimidated the owners of the club room to such an extent that they dared not receive the members, and the society consequently could not be formed.

After the institution of juries selected from among the sailors to try charges of insubordination, the instances of it increased day by day; and in order to complete the disorganisation of the Navy, it was proposed that officers of the Mercantile Marine should be admitted into it. M. de la Coudraye, an officer of the Navy, pointed out the inconvenience of this, in a very sensible speech, in which he proved conclusively that as profit was the soul of commerce, and disinterestedness and the love of glory that of the Navy, their alliance was incompatible. He pointed

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out the danger of instilling commercial ideas into the minds of the officers, who were frequently obliged to sacrifice everything to honour; that it was the reason which prevented the ballasting of men-of-war with merchandise; and that the surest method to undermine the French Navy was to discourage its officers by retarding their promotion, their sole recompense for continual sacrifices. He was not listened to, and the question was simply adjourned. The retirement of the naval officers, compelled by the insubordination of their subordinates, rendered the question unnecessary.

Nothing could have affected the King more than the destruction of a Navy which he had taken so much trouble to create, composed as it was of officers who were recognised as the most educated in Europe. But he was destined to daily experience of fresh annoyance. The disastrous decree in reference to the replacement of the old clergy was the cause of persecutions which were a source of deep affliction to him. The profanation of the churches was a consequence of this. Under the pretext of paying into the public Treasury the value of the silver and ornaments belonging to the suppressed churches and communities, violent hands were most indecently laid on the latter, as well as on the sacred vessels, which were no longer considered necessary to worship. The silver, intended to assist the public Treasury, was of no great importance to it. The Commissioners entrusted with this business

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converted a large portion of it to their own profit, and the ornaments sacrilegiously offered at public auction were more satisfactory to those who turned them into ridicule, than if they had realised the profit which it was expected that they would produce.

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CHAPTER X.

THE YEAR 1791.

Departure of Mesdames—Insurrection provoked by this—Fresh methods adopted to inflame the People, and diminish the respect due to the Royal Majesty—New suppressions by the Assembly—The 28th of February—Death of Mirabeau.

MESDAMES ADÉLAIDE and Victoire, aunts of the King, seeing that there was neither safety nor tranquillity to be expected in future, and foreseeing also that circumstances would arise to compel the King to withdraw from the capital, and from an Assembly which daily insulted him, and respected neither person nor property, decided to quit Paris at once and take refuge in Rome. The preparations for their departure caused much commotion among the demagogues of the clubs and in the Assembly, who wanted the King to prevent it. The Municipality having refused to give them passports, the King ordered M. de Montmorin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to grant them, and he signed them himself. M. Bailly, always a slave to his good people, represented to the King the alarm occasioned by this departure, and urged him to prevent it. But the

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King replied that, in spite of his regret at the departure of Mesdames, he could not deprive them of the right which every individual had to travel at will, a right guaranteed by the Constitution, which he had no right to take away from them. An insurrection on a small scale was arranged to take place at Bellevue, their residence, but Mesdames, warned in time, foresaw it and departed at midnight. They were stopped at Moret by the Municipality of that town, but the Hainaut Chasseurs secured a passage for them, and escorted them for some distance from the town. The account given by the Municipality of Hainaut of what transpired on this occasion, made a great noise in the Assembly, which even desired to punish the officer commanding the Chasseurs; but M. de Cazalès pointed out the inconvenience of this so strongly, that it passed to the order of the day.

The second stoppage of Mesdames at Arnay-le-Duc, where the Municipality of that town would not let them proceeed without authority from the Assembly, was the cause of fresh discussions. The demagogues took advantage of this opportunity to cause uneasiness among the people, and to insult the King afresh in the person of the members of his family. How is it possible, said Charles de Lameth, that Princesses, supported for fifty years by the nation, and who ought to recognise the benefit of the Revolution, can leave a country which offers them such advantages? Barnave and his party formally

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opposed their departure. After the most extraordinary debates, the matter was referred to the executive power, and Mesdames at last continued their journey. In all the countries through which they passed after leaving France, they received the homage due to their virtues and their rank.

Men, taken from the dregs of the people, arrived at Bellevue, but Mesdames had departed. They committed a certain amount of havoc, and then contented themselves with eating, drinking, and sleeping in the suites of apartments.

They also went to the Luxembourg, to find out if it were true that Monsieur and Madame also proposed to depart. Monsieur persuaded them that it was not so. Madame, whom they had the audacity to address a second time, treated them with the lofty dignity becoming her rank; and Monsieur and Madame, who were going to the Tuileries, got into their carriage in the presence of the mob, who, after following them for a certain time, in the end dispersed.

In order to profit by this opportunity of rousing the people, a rumour was set on foot that Mgr. the Dauphin was to be sent away secretly. Under this pretext the mob assembled on the 24th of February, on the terrace of the Tuileries and in the Carrousel, seeking to enter the Castle by force, in order to see the Dauphin and obtain from the King the recall of Mesdames. The gates were shut at once, and the National Guard declared that they would not allow

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the Castle to be forced, but would defend it from every attack.

M. Bailly and the Municipal Officers appeared to harangue the rioters, who replied by insults. Ever indulgent to the populace, whom he called his good people, he was in favour of opening the gates, but M. de Mazelière, formerly an officer in the Picardie Regiment, having pointed out the danger of such a course to the National Guard, they formally protested against it.

M. Bailly then went to the Castle to beg the King to have recourse to mild measures only. The King told him, in reply, that he, better than anybody else, knew that his, the King's, heart was always inclined to mildness, but that it was necessary to be firm as well, and to teach the people to obey. On hearing this reply M. de la Fayette put his troops in motion, and cleared the Carrousel and its surroundings in an instant.

The Assembly left no stone unturned to diminish the respect due to the King. As phrases go a long way with the people, in the decree relative to the regency they styled him merely *premier fonctionnaire public;* Mgr. the Dauphin became *premier suppléant;* and the Prince summoned to the regency by right of primogeniture, *suppléant majeur.* The Queen, who was deprived of the regency, and was merely entrusted with the guardianship of the King during his minority, was called *mère du premier suppléant.* The most indecent remarks were made in connection

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with this. Barnave and Chapelier, as well as the other factious ringleaders, allowed it to be clearly seen that all they wanted was a Republic. The majority of their accomplices understood this term to mean anarchy, robbery, and the invasion of the rights of property, which they well understood how to turn to their own advantage.

The Committee of the Constitution proposed to decree that public functionaries should be compelled to reside where their duties were performed, and that the King, the chief public functionary, being always bound to be within reach of the Assembly, should not be allowed to reside more than twenty leagues away when it was in session, and should only he permitted to take up his abode where he pleased in the kingdom after its prorogation; that the heir presumptive should be compelled to reside close to him, and should not travel without his permission in the interior of the kingdom, from which he would not be allowed to absent himself except by a decree of the Assembly sanctioned by the King; and that during his minority his mother and the Prince next in order in the succession to the crown should be confined to the same residence, under pain, to the King and to all of them, of being deposed from all right to the throne, being held in such a case to have renounced their functions. In this decree they took great care to include, among the number of public functionaries, the King and his family, in order, by means of this appellation, to diminish the

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respect attaching to the name of King and the royal family.

M. de Cazalès, the Abbé Maury, and several other members of the Right spoke strongly of the insult to the King and the royal family by the imposition of such conditions, and the constant substitution of the term "executive power" for the name of the King. They urged the rejection of the decree, or at all events its adjournment, so that time might be given to reflect upon the serious inconveniences it would occasion. The Left expatiated on the beauty of the title of chief public functionary of a free nation, and on the justice of imposing conditions on a family on whom such an eminent dignity was bestowed. "We will not permit," said M. de Cazalès, "the authority of the King to be annihilated, nor that he should receive from the Assembly a title differing from that which he and his race have possessed for more than eight hundred years. At this moment I renew the oath which binds me to his person, and from which nothing can release us; long live the King!" All the members of the Right left their places, rushed towards the President, and uttered their cry of love and fidelity. But the proposal of the Committee was none the less converted into a decree, and the rebels applauded this fresh blow struck at the royal authority.

Chapelier, after having thundered away about the wrong done by the emigration to the people, commerce, and manufactories, proposed that all those

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who had emigrated should be compelled to return to France, on pain of confiscation of their goods and property. "None of those who leave their country in time of trouble," he said, "ought any longer to have any claim on its benefits or to its protection for their property." Being conscious, however, how contrary to the Constitution such a decree would be, he added, "When order is disturbed, ordinary laws are no longer suitable, and exceptional legislation is required." The Abbé Maury, M. de Cazalès, and many others, protested energetically against so monstrous an assertion. "A tyrant," they replied, "alone could compel residence in a country when its laws are being changed, and especially when so many excesses are committed with impunity, and life and property are left at the mercy of brigands." The project of Chapelier was in three clauses:—(1.) That this law shall be in force in troublous times; (2.) That a Council of three persons shall be constituted to exercise dictatorial power over the right of leaving the kingdom, and the obligation to return to it; (3.) That resistance to this obligation shall entail confiscation of property, and the loss of the rights of a French citizen.

There was a tremendous uproar at the conclusion of the reading of this bill. "You can only," said M. d'André, "deprive the *emigrés* of their pensions. You cannot rob them." "The bill is so atrocious," said Mirabeau, "that a Busiris would be needed to put it in force." And he spoke against the bill

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with such vehemence, in moving the previous question, that the malcontents accused him of wishing to assume a dictatorship over the Assembly. He replied to them in his turn, and as the tumult continued, he exclaimed, "Silence the thirty voices," and the Chapelier bill would have been rejected, if Vernier had not requested an adjournment, under the pretext of drawing up a more reasonable one. That proposed by Chapelier was limited to public functionaries, a more opportune moment being awaited to render it general. By this discussion the malcontents succeeded in turning the people, and a large part of the nation, against the *emigrés*, and in tracing out for their successors the draft of a bill at which they had only hinted.

Everybody was astonished at the speech of Mirabeau. It was not known that he had joined the party of the King, and had promised him to re-establish the Monarchy, and restore his authority.

It is difficult for anybody to have any doubt on the subject who heard, as I did, the King say to the Queen on the day of his death, "Do not rejoice, Madame, over the death of Mirabeau. We are sustaining a heavier loss than you think." I know nothing of the plans projected by Mirabeau, nor of the terms he had made with the King; but one thing is certain — the malcontents were so alarmed by the bare idea of his abandoning their party, and of having so dangerous an opponent

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to reckon with, that it appears to be beyond a doubt that they had him poisoned.

The Military Committee at last issued the result of its labours: it reduced the number of Marshals of France to eight, and fixed their pay at 30,000 francs. They only retained thirty Lieutenant-Generals on the active list, with pay at the rate of 20,000 francs, and reserved to the King the nomination of four principal Commanders of troops, with pay on a scale similar to that of the Lieutenant-Generals.

The Prince de Broglie, wishing to retain for his father his pay as a Marshal of France, produced before the Assembly a fictitious letter from the latter, in formal opposition to the opinions which, up to that time, he had professed. But the Marshal repudiated it in a letter as noble as it was touching, in which he expressed the regret he experienced at having to disavow any proceeding taken by his son.

The Assembly still continued its work of destruction. It destroyed all the customs which rendered partitions unequal. A large number of deputies demonstrated in vain the utility of these customs in agricultural districts. In vain did they prove that they affected plebeian and noble properties alike: the error of equality was doomed to prevail everywhere. These principles meant the destruction of wardenships, freedoms, and every kind of corporation; and to every representation made to the

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leaders of the Assembly, the invariable reply was, "You may be right in principle, but in a revolution everything must change and give way to the interest of the moment."

They went as far as expressing a desire to do away with the Invalides, but this was opposed by the Abbé Maury with so much logic and eloquence, that the Assembly dared not proceed with the question, and it was content to decree that, for the future, nobody should be admitted to the Invalides except wounded or aged soldiers, and that those actually there should be free to remain or to leave with a pension proportionate to their rank. The staff was suppressed, and the administration reformed in accordance with the views expressed by the Military Committee.

The Abbé Maury and M. de Cazalès were less fortunate in their support of the incontestable rights of the Prince de Condé over the Province of Clermontois, rights founded on treaties and recognised at various times by our sovereigns. It was declared to belong to the nation; and by this decree the House of Condé was deprived of income to the amount of 1,200,000 livres, the reward of the services of the great Condé, whose family have so well maintained the honour of such a name.

The brigands devastated the two parks of Chantilly, and sold the game out of them publicly. They killed two keepers in the employ of the Prince de Condé, and wounded M. de Bonneval, an officer

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in the Berry Regiment who came to their rescue, so severely that his life was despaired of. All these excesses remained unpunished, and France was handed over to the most frightful brigandage, while the Assembly, occupied solely with the so-called crimes of treason to the nation, decreed the provisional establishment of a National High Court to try them. It was to be composed of fifteen judges taken from the tribunals in the vicinity of Orleans, where its sittings were to be held. The President and Public Prosecutor were to be selected from among them, and the Commissioner of the King to the tribunal of Orleans was to perform the same duties in respect of the National High Court. The final touch was given to this law by a declaration that ten judges should suffice to pronounce a judgment. This was the advantage gained by France from its boasted liberty, and it was held that no sacrifice was too great to make for it, in view of the inestimable benefits that might be expected from it.

The people were kept in a state of continual excitement. The fire-eaters persuaded the inhabitants of the Faubourg Saint Antoine and the neighbourhood that the Keep of Vincennes was being re-established with the sole object of converting it into a fortress; that powder and projectiles were being transported there; and that works were in progress for the construction of an underground passage to provide an escape for the King and the

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royal family. Acting on this simple suspicion, which was destitute of any probability, numerous bands assembled on the 28th of February for the purpose of demolishing the keep. They were already hard at work when M. de la Fayette sent an armed force which dispersed the wreckers and took sixty of them into custody.

Just as the public mind was thus agitated in regard to what was transpiring, a Chevalier of Saint Louis, whose name nobody knew, and who wore at his side a small hunting knife, was discovered in the room next to that occupied by Mgr. the Dauphin. He was arrested and conducted to the neighbouring section. He replied with much simplicity to the questions put to him. He said his name was de Coust, and he was much distressed at being suspected of any sinister intention.

The malevolent took advantage of this opportunity to distribute all over Paris fly-sheets announcing that an assassin, armed with a dagger and pistol, had been discovered in the royal residence, and under this pretext a considerable crowd congregated round the Tuileries. Its composition was by no means reassuring, and it was dispersed with great difficulty. As its designs were sinister, three hundred gentlemen who went daily to the Tuileries, rendered uneasy by the prevailing excitement, armed themselves with pistols and went to the Castle to defend the King in case he should be attacked. The National Guard, suspicious and

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defiant, took such umbrage at this that they threatened to disarm everybody in the King's apartments. M. de Gouvion, who was informed of this, warned his Majesty, and made him afraid of a disturbance. He therefore left his room and ordered all the gentlemen in the Castle to deposit their arms there, assuring them that they should be given back to them on the following day. They obeyed, but after their departure, M. de la Fayette took possesion of these arms, although they were in the King's private room, and handed them over to the National Guard.

When the gentlemen who were in the Castle left the King's apartments, they were searched by the National Guard, although, in obedience to the orders issued by his Majesty, not one of them had kept his pistols. Several of them were maltreated. MM. de la Bourdonnaye, Fontbelle, Dubois de la Motte, de Lillen, de Champéon-Godard, de Douville, de Songi, and de Berthier, son of the Intendant of Paris, were arrested because they refused to allow themselves to be searched. They were taken to the Abbaye prison, where they remained for nearly a fortnight before they were set at liberty.

On the following day the streets were covered with prints representing gentlemen and abbés, armed with daggers and pistols, and running to and fro through the royal apartments; and for a long time the friends of order and the Monarchy were called the Knights of the Dagger.

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I saw nothing of the proceedings of this cruel day, being confined to my room by an attack of scarlet fever, which prevented my having any communication with Mgr. the Dauphin, but I knew all that was going on, from the lips of those who were continually in and out of my room, many of whom deposited their arms there. I was distressed at being separated from the young Prince at a moment so critical and so liable to be pregnant with unforeseen results. Several people thought that the King ought to make this disgraceful insult an excuse for leaving Paris. All who were attached to him were profoundly grieved, and bore on their countenances the impress of the sorrow inspired by a scene so insulting to the King as that which they had just witnessed.

M. de la Fayette was accused of having had this deplorable day in preparation for a long time; Mirabeau said that it was a deep-laid scheme. The order of the day issued by La Fayette on the morrow, served to strengthen this impression. It was as follows:—"That he had received orders from the King that the National Guard was not to allow the Castle to be filled by these armed men, several of whom through a sincere zeal, but many by *very suspicious zeal*, had dared to place themselves between the King and the National Guard; that he had consequently conveyed the order of the King to the *senior officers of his household*, in order that such indecorum might be obviated in future,

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as the King of the Constitution ought only to be surrounded by the soldiers of liberty!" He concluded by begging those who were in possession of the arms taken from the persons who had *crept into the Castle*, to hand them over to the Procureur of the Commune of Paris. Such an order of the day could only increase the hatred felt for him by the nobility whom he had abandoned in so cowardly a manner.

On the following day the *Journal de Paris* announced that M. de la Fayette had been appointed Commandant of the household of the King, as well as of the Castle of the Tuileries. The statement was false, and was contradicted in a letter addressed to M. de la Fayette by MM. de Villequier and de Duras, first Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, which they caused to be published in all the newspapers. This letter is so noble, so rational, and answers the accusations of M. de la Fayette so completely, that I cannot refrain from giving a literal copy of it.

Letter of MM. de Villequier and de Duras, first Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the King, to M. de la Fayette, in reply to the order of the day issued on the 29th of February, and signed LA FAYETTE.

"A literal copy of the order which you, sir, issued to the National Guard, under date the 1st of March, has just been handed to us. We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the nation, we owe it even to the King, to discuss those portions of it which relate to the events that took place in the Castle on the 28th of February.

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"We copy the exact terms of your order:—

"'The Commandant-General thinks it his duty to warn the Parisian army that he has received orders from the King to the effect that the apartments of the Castle are no longer to be filled with armed men, of whom some moved by sincere zeal, but others by zeal very properly open to suspicion, yesterday dared to place themselves between the King and the National Guard.'

"'Open to suspicion'—did you carefully weigh the meaning, and were you sensible of the odium attaching to such a phrase? You cannot be ignorant of the fact that it is precisely by reason of these vague accusations that the spirit of the people has for some time past been led astray.

"Who are these suspected persons? We dare you to name them. We will say more—it is your duty to name them, so that there may be no danger of their being confounded with the Marshals of France, the Generals, military men generally, the officers of the household of the King, the Deputies, the Federates, and all good citizens, whose sentiments were known, and who only went to the Castle to share with the National Guard, in whose eyes they have been traduced, the honour of defending the King, and their dangers.

"Do you mean by the term *open to suspicion*, which you used to M. de Villequier, those who are not of your way of thinking, and in whom you can repose no confidence? *Suspected*, because they are not of your way of thinking; *suspected*, because you can have no confidence in them! We stop here, we have no longer any one to defend. Let us continue the examination of your order.

"'The Commandant-General, in accordance with the orders of the King, has intimated to the chiefs of the domestic service of the Castle that they must take measures to prevent such indecorum.'

"You have, you say, intimated to us the *orders of the King*. This statement is inaccurate in every sense. You did, it is true, speak to M. de Villequier in the King's private room, but the King was not there then, and you had not seen him; you could

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only give utterance to your own private opinions. You could not intimate the orders of the King, because you had not up to that time been in a position to receive them.

"Since when have we been under your orders? You cannot be ignorant, sir, of the fact that in everything relating to our duties we neither can receive, nor have we ever received, any orders but those conveyed to us directly by his Majesty.

"'The King of the Constitution,' you add, 'neither ought nor wishes to be surrounded by any but the soldiers of liberty! Ah! sir, would you deprive the Marshals of France, soldiers, and citizens, whose duties withdraw them from Paris during a portion of the year, of the happiness of flying to the defence of their King? And would you take from his Majesty the sweet consolation of being surrounded by those who are devoted to him?

"No, sir, it is our duty to declare publicly to you, with the consent of the King, that he has never shared the distrust instilled into his National Guard against those who were in his apartments, the greater number of whom were known to him, and that he does not share the opinions which led you to stigmatise as indecent a proceeding which was only dictated by attachment to his person; and here, sir, is a proof of this which must be acknowledged.

"In order to put an end to the troubles occasioned by an insinuated mistake, the King desired that the pistols carried for his defence should be left in his apartments; his only wish was that there should be one law for everybody, and these arms were deposited in his Majesty's room. These, sir, are the persons whom you dared to describe as open to suspicion; these are the persons who, on the authority of an order emanating from a Commandant-General of the Parisian army, would stand accused in the eyes of the Provinces, if steps were not taken to put the latter in possession of the real facts.

"We have the honour to inform you that we are going to publish our letter, and we conclude it with the profession of faith which we made to you as well as to M. d'Arblay, Major of the

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2d Division, and M. Gondran, an officer in the 4th Battalion; we will renew it in the name of the Marshals of France, the Generals, soldiers of every grade, the officers of the household of the King, the Federates, the Deputies, and, in a word, all those who were in the Castle on the 28th of February.

"In their name we affirm that, animated with the same spirit as that of the National Guard in the defence of the King, if an insurrection could have caused any anxiety in regard to his safety, their design and ours would have been together to have displayed the zeal which they have displayed on several occasions, very recently on the 24th of February. The most exposed position would have been the one chosen by their courage and their love for the King.

"ALEXANDRE D'AUMONE,
formerly Duke de Villequier.
"AMÉDÉE DURFORT,
formerly Marquis de Duras.

"*P.S.*—We consider that we should fail in our duty to all the officers attached to his Majesty's service under our orders did we not protest against the term *Chiefs of the domestic service of the Castle*, by which you are pleased designate the first Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the King."

In reply to this letter from MM. de Villequier and de Duras the *Journal de Paris* published the following article, signed LA FAYETTE:—

"An article in the *Journal de Paris*, which has been copied in several newspapers, has invested me with a supposititious superintendence of the household of the King, absolutely foreign to the duties of the National Guard. Whatever may have been the intention of the author of this fable, I am bound, in contradicting it, to turn for a moment to the letter written by persons who really belong to that service.

"MM. de Villequier and de Duras pretend to speak in the

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name of the Marshals of France, officers of every grade, officers of the household of the King, various Deputies, and Federates. But may not I, in my turn, ask the Marshals of France, and the others mentioned in the letter, who respect the Constitution and value public order, what they would have thought had they seen the crowd of armed men who threw themselves between the King and those who have to answer to the nation for his safety?

"It is sufficient for me, in order to avoid any insidious interpretation of my words, to declare that by the soldiers of liberty I mean those who, belonging to any portion of the public force, have taken an oath to the nation, the law, and *the King recognised by the Constitution*, and who wish to live and die for it.

"That by men *justly open to suspicion* I meant those who, carrying concealed weapons, made themselves conspicuous by their anti-patriotic and inflammatory remarks, and who, so far from seeking to be recognised by the sentries of the National Guard, whom, so they say, they wished to join, took care to avoid them and to gain access to the Castle by a recently constructed entrance.

"Assuredly a Commandant of the National Guard, entrusted with the orders of the King for the safety of his palace, has, under such circumstances, a right to take efficacious measures to prevent a recurrence of such an event.

"In conclusion, if my conduct during the course of that day was of some use, I am quite willing to give my enemies the consolation of criticising a few details of it."

There can, however, be no doubt that it was only natural that the real friends of the King should fail to have unlimited confidence in M. de la Fayette, and that the remembrance of the slumber of the 6th of October should cause them some anxiety when the defence of the King was in question.

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The King was ill for some days with a severe cold accompanied by fever, and he spat blood to a certain extent. It was by no means extraordinary that his health should suffer from the torture he experienced in consequence of his inability to apply any remedy to the evils which were overwhelming France and distressing his own heart. The Assembly sent every day for the bulletin of his health, and decreed a *Te Deum* when he recovered. Its sole object in doing this was to deceive the people, and under this appearance of interest to hide the secret intrigues it was carrying out for the destruction of royalty.

The new bishops, full of gratitude to the Assembly to which they owed their new dignity, paid their homage daily, accompanied by protestations of entire submission to its decrees, and of their devotion to the maintenance of the Revolution. This new body of clergy was so badly composed that, far from inspiring respect, it aided to perfection the project of discrediting religion in the minds of the people; of making it an object of contempt; and, by annihilating every principle in the lower orders, of rendering them more easily swayed when the opportunity should present itself of making them useful.

The members of the Department of Paris were rearranged. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld was appointed President; M. Pastoret, Procureur-Syndic; and MM. de Kersaint, de Talleyrand, d'Ormesson,

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Brière de Surgi, Thouin, Dumont, Alexandre Lameth, Veillard, Charton, etc., were Administrators. The Directorate was composed of MM. Auzon, Mirabeau, du Tremblay, Crété de Palluel, and the Abbé Siéyès.

Mirabeau, who perceived that the Monarchy could not be re-established with the same maxims that had brought about the Revolution, signed with them a proclamation, of which he was said to be the author, and by which a most positive condemnation was given of the opinions which he had with so much audacity maintained against the minority of the Assembly, who had never ceased to invoke the principles he was now anxious to re-establish. His plan appeared to be to discredit the Assembly to such an extent that the nation, tired out, would in the end demand its abrogation.

All its sittings were marked by some fresh injustice. The friends of order and Royalty were imprisoned on simple informations unsupported by any proof. To them were attributed the disturbances arranged by the originators of them. If a Municipality did its duty under such circumstances, it was sure to be dissolved and replaced by one in harmony with the Revolution. The disturbances at Nîmes and Uzès, where the Catholics simply defended themselves, were a proof of this. The crimes committed at Aix and Avignon remained unpunished, and the miscreants, always sure of being justified, made all good people tremble. Such was then the condition of our unhappy France. The

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evil, so easy of commission, became difficult to remedy, especially after the passions of violent men had been roused, seeing that they had no other principle than self interest, and that these crimes, while they cost them nothing, could be turned by them to some advantage to themselves.

Mirabeau was a proof of this, if, as many people said, he died of poison. He was only ill two days. The suddenness of his end, and the embarrassment of the doctor who made the *post mortem* examination, confirmed this opinion. On the other hand, it was asserted that his excessive debauchery rendered fatal an illness which would have been easily cured in anybody but himself. Vicq-d'Azir, principal physician to the Queen, a very learned and clever man, was summoned to assist at his examination, and gave an account of it to her Majesty. I was in her room at the time, and heard the following account:—"Mortification," said Vicq-d'Azir, "set in so quickly that the body had to be placed in a tent in the middle of his garden. An immense crowd assembled round the house and in the adjacent streets, and we were afraid every moment that the doors of the house would be forced open. We were not at all comfortable; the odour was infectious, and if the house had been broken into, we could not foresee what would happen. 'We want to see our father once more,' said the crowd, amid a frightful din. It was resolved that one of us should go to them and explain to them the im-

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possibility of allowing them all to come into the house; and by way of compromise they agreed to send a deputation of market porters, who came into the tent, and said, as they gazed fixedly on Mirabeau, 'That is all that is now left of our father.' They then went out quietly, recounted what they had seen, and the crowd dispersed quietly. We concluded our operations as quickly as possible, for we were anxious to leave so infected a place" "Do you undertake to say," asked the Queen, "that he was not poisoned?" Vicq-d'Azir made an evasive reply. Nothing in the world would have made him or his colleagues answer in the affirmative, lest by so doing they should draw upon themselves the vengeance of the Jacobins.

The death of Mirabeau made various impressions. The Jacobins, delighted to be freed from him, affected great regret at his loss. Those of his own party were sincerely affected by it, and the Royalists were divided in opinion. The majority, who did not really credit his conversion, fearing that his design was to reign in the name of the King and dictate to him conditions opposed to the true interests of the Monarchy, could not regret him. Others, who believed his conversion to be sincere, as being in his own interests, and persuaded that he would have used his talents to secure the triumph of the King's party, looked upon his death as an unfortunate occurrence, and for that reason were distressed by it.

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His death was announced in the Assembly as a public calamity, and he was held up as one of the greatest men ever produced by liberty. The highest honours were decreed to him, and it was resolved that his body should be taken to Sainte Geneviève, which from that moment should become the burial place of the great men whom France might delight to honour, with this inscription on the gateway,—"*A grateful country to its great men.*" The funeral of Mirabeau was a species of triumph. The whole of the National Assembly, the Ministers, the Administrative and Military bodies, all the Clubs of Paris and the suburbs, all the Fraternity Societies, and deputations from all classes of society, formed a *cortège* such as had not hitherto been seen. The finest bands played sombre and majestic music. The procession, which began to move at five P.M., did not finish till midnight. The name of the church of Sainte Geneviève was changed to the Panthéon, and the beautiful bas-reliefs of the church were removed, to give place to patriotic and irreligious emblems. The Assembly ordered all its members to wear mourning for a week, an example which was imitated by the Clubs and Directorates of the district and Department, who, moreover, ordered the bust of Mirabeau to be placed in the room where their sittings were held.

No greater proof could be adduced of the demoralisation of the French people than the sight of such honours being paid to a man guilty of the

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greatest crimes, who had dragged his country down to an abyss of misfortune, a fact of which he himself was so fully persuaded that when he was dying he exclaimed, " I take with me the ruins of the monarchy ! "

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CHAPTER XI.

THE YEAR 1791.

Decree in regard to the responsibility of Ministers—Violence against the Catholics—Decree of the Department on this subject—Insurrection against the Castle for the purpose of placing obstacles in the way of the Journey to Saint Cloud meditated by the King—His Majesty insulted—Forced banishment of the Majority of his faithful Subjects—False steps taken by the King on the advice of his Ministers—Continuance of violent Measures on the part of the Assembly, which abandons all restraint—Retractation of the Abbé Raynal—The King thinks seriously of withdrawing from Paris.

THE Assembly, prior to taking into serious consideration the responsibility of Ministers, decreed that no deputy of it or its successors should accept any Ministerial post, or any post dependent on the Ministry, or any gift, pension, or reward, or any military promotion, except for length of service, until four years after they should cease to be deputies.

In accordance with the report of its Military Committee, it settled the duties imposed on Ministers by their responsibility, and the punishments consequent on any infraction. It compelled them to sign all orders emanating from their offices, without power under any circumstances to avoid compliance

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with this law, even under the pretext of having carried out the orders of the King or the decisions of the Council. It declared them responsible for every offence against the national safety, for every attempt against property and personal liberty, and for every expenditure of funds, whether by themselves or their subordinates, and obliged them to account for their own conduct and the state of their business, whenever the Corps Législatif might require them to do so.

M. de Saint Fargeau brought forward a very detailed code of Ministerial offences, and the punishment to be awarded for them. Capital punishment recurred frequently, that of the galleys still more so, and the pillory but seldom. The punishments of the pillory and the galleys were prescribed against Ministers who placed any obstacle in the way of the freedom of writing or of the press.

The Assembly regulated the number, division, and demarcation of the Departments in such a way that the King was left without any authority. Ever preoccupied with the idea of establishing a Republican Government, it prolonged anarchy with the object of gaining its ends more easily. By the new decree Ministers found themselves in such a state of dependence, and the authority of the King was so circumscribed by the law relating to their responsibility, that his Majesty was really the slave of a Ministry whose movements and will he was unable to control.

It was evident that the sole object of the decree

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was to fill all Ministerial offices with creatures of the Assembly (nobody daring to risk a responsibility dependent on its caprices), and to discredit the King by the annulment of his authority, so that in the end he might be dispensed with, and the nation reduced to such a state of servitude that it would be powerless to resist the yoke which the rebels intended to place upon it.

MM. de Lessart and de Montmorin, who were really attached to the King, strictly followed out the plan of Mirabeau, and in order to avoid coming under the law of responsibility, they frequently induced the King to take steps which were both wrong and contrary to his dignity. They thought them necessary for the maintenance of the security of the Assembly, with a view to extricating the King from his cruel situation and placing him in a position to resume the government of his kingdom. The other Ministers, with the exception of M. de Fleurieu, were confessed Jacobins, in whom no confidence could be placed; and even the latter, though an honest man, was too weak to approve of any step calculated to involve him in danger. To give an idea of the principles of M. du Portail, the Minister of War, it is sufficient to say that he had the audacity to propose to the Assembly that permission should be given to officers, non-commissioned officers, and men to affiliate themselves to Jacobin societies, in order to imbibe from them principles of public order and military and patriotic regeneration, and so to find a remedy for

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the insurrections which were on the increase in nearly all the regiments of the army.

The replacement of the bishops and the clergy, which took place at Easter, was a source of alarm to all who possessed consciences; and the few people who frequented the churches, allowed it to be very clearly seen that the majority in France disapproved of the conduct of the Assembly in relation to the clergy. This resistance to its will augmented the intolerance of the authors of the Civil Constitution. After indulging in the bitterest invectives against the priests and the bishops, they proceeded to persecution, hoping to wear out their firmness by the fear of ill-treatment. As their fine speeches about the regeneration of the Church, whose primitive state they wished to recall, no longer made any impression, they insulted the women and the various people who worshipped according to the Catholic religion without the intervention of the intruders; they outraged the nuns, and even the sisters of charity, in the most indecent manner, and nobody was free from the violence which was universally prevalent.

The Department issued an order in which, while expressing its disapproval of such violence, it expressly forbade the use of churches, other than those which had been retained for national worship. It even extended this prohibition to the chapels of religious establishments, colleges, and hospitals, which could only be frequented by

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persons who were within their walls. It, however, permitted the building or acquisition of any edifice whatsover, for the purpose of any kind of worship, provided that a declaration to that effect was made to the Municipality, and that an inscription was placed on it to indicate its use, and to distinguish it from the National churches, the services in which were paid for by the nation.

In conformity with this proclamation, a Society of the Faubourg Saint Germain took a lease of the Théatins Church, complied with the necessary formalities, and arranged to open it on the following Sunday, which was Palm Sunday. On the Saturday, groups of people assembled, animated by the most violent feelings, and they did not disperse until midnight. On the Sunday they proceeded from words to blows. A young girl, going to the church with her mother, was thrashed at the door, just as she was going to enter. The worshippers were compelled to turn back, and so that all might know what to expect if they persisted in their intention to enter the church, a broom handle and a birch rod were hung up at the door, by way of preventing any plea of ignorance. The mob tore in pieces the Departmental Notice which informed the public of the privilege given by the declaration of the rights of man for the exercise of any form of worship, so long as the regulations prescribed by law were complied with, and an orator declaimed that the best means

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of preventing any schism among the so-called Catholics, was to thrash the worshippers and belabour the priests.

The excitement spread to the Tuileries. Crowds assembled in the neighbourhood, and having been informed that the King intended to spend Holy Week and Easter at Saint Cloud, they declared themselves opposed to this journey, and indulged in the most atrocious remarks on the subject. Fréron and other orators like him went so far as to threaten the lives of the King and the Royal Family, whom they accused of having incited foreigners against France. Their fury extended also to those who were attached to the King, and who, according to them, ought to be replaced by patriots attached to the Revolution. They abused the nonjuror priests, and a grenadier so roused them against the ecclesiastics who followed the King on Sunday to mass, that the National Guard threatened to quit the service, and M. de la Fayette had considerable trouble in restoring order among them.

The King, who for some time past had perceived the progress made by the malcontents, and feared what might take place during Holy Week, induced me to send my daughter to her sisters, who were away from Paris at the time. In order to have greater control over his own actions, he had decided to spend the Easter fortnight at Saint Cloud, and had arranged to start on the Monday before Easter. The crowds of the previous day reassembled on the

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following day, indulging in sinister remarks about the departure of the King, and the necessity of opposing it. There was no crowd at the Tuileries at ten o'clock, when I went out for a short time to make arrangements with one of my sisters, a nun of Sainte Marie in the Rue du Bac, to induce her to leave for Mons, where an asylum had been offered to her in one of the houses of her order; and I was very much astonished, after an absence of only half-an-hour, to find the Carrousel filled with a countless mob, who surrounded the railings of the Castle. I got out of my carriage at once, sent it away, and determined to make my way through the crowd to the Tuileries. At first they refused to let me pass, and I was obliged to speak to them, and tell them that as I was the Governess of Mgr. the Dauphin, I was obliged to go back to him. "You would do much better," they said, "to take care of him." "Would you like the nurse of your children," I asked them, "to argue about your actions, to refuse to obey you, and dictate to you the conduct you ought to observe?" This reply calmed them down to a certain extent, and I continued to make my way when, to my great satisfaction, the officer of the Guard contrived to get me inside. I have always noticed that when one has the misfortune to find oneself in the midst of a riotous crowd, it is much more judicious to speak to them with a firm and assured countenance, than to allow them to perceive the slightest trace of alarm,

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The King and Queen, whose packing had been completed in the morning, at the conclusion of mass got into their carriage with Mgr. the Dauphin, Madame, and Madame Elizabeth. I was seated with the latter Princess on the front seat of the carriage, and witnessed the horrible scene that took place on that cruel day. The Grenadiers of the National Guard, among whom an alarm had been spread in regard to the departure of the King, seeing the horses ready to start, revolted, placed themselves at the horses' heads, and declared that they would not permit the King to depart. MM. Bailly and de la Fayette in vain endeavoured to overcome their resistance by pointing out to them that, besides its being very reprehensible in itself, it was moreover unconstitutional. "It would be an astonishing thing," said the King to them, putting his head out of the window, "if, after having given liberty to the nation, I should myself not be free." The people who thronged the Carrousel upheld them in their determination, and nothing could stir them. They were not content even with this. They grossly insulted those who surrounded the carriage of the King, compelled them to stand aside, and used such violence towards M. de Duras, the first Gentleman of the Bedchamber, that his Majesty was obliged to order two loyal grenadiers to extricate him, telling them that he would be responsible.

Mgr. the Dauphin, who up to this point had not displayed the slightest alarm, began to cry when

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he saw M. de Duras so ill-treated, and shouted at the top of his voice, "Save him, save him!" MM. Gougenot and Missilier, officers of the King's Commissariat, whose attachment induced them to approach the carriage, were also ill-treated. The National Guard took their Majesties aside, and would only allow their own men to approach the carriage. MM. Bailly and de la Fayette again endeavoured to speak to the crowd, but it was useless, and they went to the Assembly, but without daring to open their mouths there concerning what was going on at the Tuileries. When they saw that all they did was futile, M. de la Fayette offered to use force to secure the egress of the carriage, and requested the King to give the necessary orders. "It is for you, sir," replied the King quickly, "to see to what is necessary for the due fulfilment of your Constitution." After renewed efforts, as futile as their predecessors, M. de la Fayette went to the King and informed him that his departure would be attended with danger. "Then I must go back," said his Majesty, and he got out of his carriage to re-enter his apartments, alone, without any of his suite, and profoundly affected by what had taken place, and the small profit he was deriving from all his concessions.

Nothing could be more distressing than the consequences of this day. The same evening, the Department came to present an address to the King, to represent to him the uneasiness of the people at seeing him surrounded by refractory priests, and the

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general apprehension that the protection he afforded them represented the real sentiments of his heart; that it was necessary for him to reassure the people by some open and definite step, such as dismissing from their attendance on him all whom they regarded as enemies of the Constitution; that by such a step he would show other nations that he had adopted the Revolution in all sincerity, seeing that he would no longer be surrounded by any but the friends of liberty; that this advice would certainly be given to him by the other eighty-three Departments, if they were only so situated that their voices could be heard. M. de la Rochefoucauld, President of the Department, who was the spokesman, entreated him also to dismiss the persons who were in attendance on Mgr. the Dauphin, and were equally objects of suspicion.

It is inconceivable that a Department, which prided itself on enforcing a strict observance of the Constitution, could permit itself to violate it openly, and to fail so signally in every essential part of its duty to the supreme head of the nation, as to come and give him orders just when it should have only testified its sorrow for the scandalous scene that had just taken place.

The King, fearing to endanger the lives of his faithful servants, ordered MM. de Duras and de Villequier to withdraw. The departure of the latter, who had for so long a time so signally displayed his attachment and fidelity, was a source of deep regret

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to his Majesty, who, when he left, expressed a hope that happier times would bring him back again. He gave similar orders to the Cardinal de Montmorency, his Grand Almoner, to MM. de Roquelaure and de Sabran, Bishops of Meaux and Laon (respectively Chief Almoner to the King and Queen), to his other Almoners, and those of the Queen. The services of the chapel were performed subsequently by simple chaplains. M. de Brissac, who was suffering from gout at the time, was not included in the general order.

Although the Provostship of the royal residence was abolished, as my son lived with me in the Tuileries, and was accustomed to be seen in attendance on the King, his presence gave rise to no alarm; and by taking every present precaution to avoid being suspected by the National Guard, whose bad conduct had rendered its members all the more morose, he succeeded in continuing his attendance on the King without any obstacle. He had never varied in his opinions. When the Provostship was abolished, M. de Beauharnais did everything in his power to induce him to accept a post in the Army, which would compensate him for the one he had lost. My son, rendered indignant by this persistence, replied,—"The King has done me the honour from my earliest youth to attach me to his person; not for the world would I leave him at a time when I have nothing to hope for from him; and I will remain by him so long as I live."

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And when he was reproached with having appeared before the King in his uniform of Grand Provost, after the decree of abolition had been passed, he said,—"I will take the orders of the King for the disbanding of the company, and I will then return to him the mark of command which he entrusted to me." M. de Beauharnais, after having represented to him that such conduct could not but be prejudicial to his interests, wound up by saying that he could not help esteeming the motive of such folly. The King, from whom he received final orders for the disbanding of the company, expressed his satisfaction at the line of conduct he had pursued, and never ceased to give him tokens of the confidence he reposed in his fidelity and attachment.

The sorrowful aspect presented by the Castle on the morrow of this fatal day may easily be pictured. The King was alone, and had near him only my son and some officers of the National Guard, and the countenances of all his faithful servants bore the impress of their grief. Mesdames de Chimay and de Duras, the former a Maid of Honour, and the latter Lady in Waiting to the Queen, fearing to be compelled to proceedings repugnant to their principles, tendered their resignations, and the whole day was spent in preparations for the departure of somebody or other. My heart was wrung by the position of the King, and the departure of those I loved and esteemed, whose society had been a source of great consolation to me.

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The poor little Dauphin, sorrowful as the rest of us, finding himself alone with myself and the Abbé d'Avaux, said, with a sigh,—"How wicked all those people are, to give papa so much trouble when he is so good! I only say so to you, my dear Madame de Tourzel, whom I love with all my heart, because I know I ought to hold my tongue." And putting his little arms round me, he kissed me tenderly; then, throwing himself on a sofa, he asked, by way of relaxation, for the history of little Berquin. The first anecdote he encountered was that of the little prisoner. Springing to his feet hastily, he took his book to the Abbé d'Avaux, and said to him, with tears in his eyes,—"Look, my dear Abbé, at the book that has chanced to fall in my hands to-day." I could not keep back my tears as I heard him, so young, make such a remark, and as I thought of the misfortunes that might befall him, though I was far from foreseeing the extent of those which were in store for him. He was the most engaging child; appreciating the care bestowed upon him, he never lost an opportunity of saying the kindest and most affectionate things to us.

The King, perceiving that he had nothing to hope for from the Assembly, in spite of the way in which he had met them at every turn, thought seriously of the best means of getting away from Paris, and of the steps to be taken for the re-establishment of his authority. The plan proposed to him by M. de Montmorin, which appeared to be

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approved of by him, was to obtain an assurance from the Great Powers that they would threaten France if she persisted in her rebellion, and that they would so alarm the nation by their preparations, that it would find itself forced to have recourse to the King, to prevent them from avenging the insults paid to royalty; that in that event the King would enlighten the nation in regard to its real interests; would prove to it that his declaration of the 21st of June was its genuine wish, freely expressed in the instructions given to its deputies; and would demonstrate clearly that the majority of them had only used the power with which they were invested to violate their oaths and plunge France into an abyss of misfortune from which they alone could extricate her. The one thing which induced me to believe in this project, was a circumstance which happened in my presence, the day before the disastrous journey to Varennes. I was with the Queen, receiving her final orders, when M. de Montmorin brought her a very long letter which she read very attentively. When he had left her she said,—"There is no longer any reason for hesitating about our departure; here is a letter from the Emperor, who entreats us not to defer it, and tells us positively that nothing can be done for us so long as we remain in Paris."

The majority of the Ministers, uneasy in regard to the effect that might be produced in the Provinces by the dreadful events of the Monday before Easter, took it into their heads that if the King

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were to present himself before the Assembly, and demonstrate that any continuance of the opposition to his departure for Saint Cloud might occasion doubts about his liberty and that of his sanction to its decrees, it would be the first to request him to persevere in his original intention. They therefore persuaded the King to take this step. He went to the Assembly, spoke to it of the scandal of that day, and impressed upon it the necessity of persuading the people that their happiness depended upon their obedience to the law and to constituted authority. The step which the King was persuaded to take was all the more imprudent because its want of success might easily have been foreseen, Chabroud being at that moment President of the Assembly. Its reply to his Majesty was consequently only an excuse for the scene of the previous day, based on the anxiety inseparable from liberty, to which it added a warning to prevent a well-known faction from placing itself between the King and the nation, so that the will of the people might be carried out.

The Right of the Assembly, deeply moved, showed by its demeanour the distress it experienced by reason of the step which the King had been induced to take; and this gave Roederer an excuse for this sarcasm which he levelled at the Right:—"These gentlemen, who applaud whenever the name of the King is mentioned, to-day did not indulge in a single note of applause when he left the Assem-

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bly." The Ministers, its vile slaves, were not content with that. In concert with it, they brought such pressure to bear on the King to write to his Ministers at foreign courts an official letter to acquaint each sovereign of his sentiments in regard to the Revolution, that he dared not refuse. Persuaded as he was that the violence displayed towards him rendered all his proceedings null and void, and that the more they were opposed to his interests, the more strongly would they persuade the Powers of his incapability to resist the faction which governed France, he looked upon this letter as the consequence of the line of conduct he had been compelled to adopt. M. de Montmorin, far from sharing this opinion, represented to the King that such a letter was of a nature calculated to essentially injure the steps he was at that moment meditating; that he would by it be contradicting himself; and he added that as he could not make up his mind to sign it, he begged the King to accept his resignation. The King thought fit to do so, fearing that any resistance might arouse suspicion in regard to his plans. And M. de Montmorin, fearing that they might vanish, signed this disastrous letter. It was a protestation of the attachment of the King to the Constitution, of his free adhesion to its decrees, which had only reformed abuses while maintaining his power in its entirety. He added that peace reigned throughout his kingdom, and that he had no other enemies than those who had withdrawn

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from it, and who placed in doubt his attachment to the Constitution; that they made it necessary for him to inform foreign Powers of his real sentiments, by assuring them that they had nothing to fear from a power which had renounced all idea of conquest, and which desired to be at peace with its neighbours. By this letter he enjoined these same Ministers to protect all Frenchmen travelling in foreign countries against the insults to which they were daily exposed.

The sole object of this letter, which was supposed to be the work of M. de Lameth, was to discredit the King in the eyes of foreign Powers. When it was read to the Assembly, it was received with enthusiastic applause. The rebels made no attempt to conceal their joy at having achieved so signal a success, and they resolved that a deputation should proceed at once, with the President at its head, to thank the King for the proof of patriotism he had just given in making known to foreign Powers his real sentiments, and to assure him at the same time that the step he had taken, securing the welfare of his people, could not fail to render them happy.

M. de la Fayette was the only one who acted up to his duty in regard to the 18th of April, the Monday before Easter. On the following day he sent in his resignation as Commandant of the National Guard; and on urgent entreaties being made to him to withdraw it, he betook himself to the Commune of Paris, openly censured the excesses that had taken place on the previous day, and

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declared positively that he would only withdraw his resignation on condition that all the men who were to blame should be disbanded. The paid company of the Oratory was consequently disarmed. The same thing happened to the promoters of the insurrection, although the Cordeliers Club posted a notice in the streets to the effect that their conduct was a model of citizenship. These conditions having been complied with, he resumed his post, exacting a promise from his men that they would in future be faithful to the law and the subordination which they had so flagrantly violated, and compelling them to take a fresh oath, by way of proving the sincerity of their obedience.

It is impossible to give any idea of what we had to suffer during Holy Week. Threatened with all sorts of outrage by a mob which rejoiced over the solitude of the Tuileries, and the sight of the King deprived of his Grand Officers, and of ourselves on the eve of being compelled to separate ourselves from him; the services of the Church, at which we assisted regularly, and which were so strikingly analogous to the situation; the tomb of Holy Thursday, a species of cenotaph surrounded with cypress and surmounted by a crown of thorns, so correct an emblem of that worn by the King—all this contributed to increase the profound sorrow into which we were plunged, and which we were obliged to keep to ourselves, in order that the poor little Dauphin should not be affected by it. The Princess de Tarente, who shared

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all my sentiments, was then my only consolation. Our hearts were as one, and we sorrowed over the evils which were still only the prelude of those in store for us.

The beginning of the happiness promised by the Assembly to the King was the violence done to his religious feelings. As a guarantee of his sanction to the decrees of the Assembly, he was compelled on Easter Sunday to go with the Queen to Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, the parish church of the Tuileries, where the service was performed by Constitutional priests. Monsieur and Madame did not accompany their Majesties; they remained at the Luxembourg, where they heard mass; and Madame Elizabeth, under the plea of indisposition, spent the day in her room.

Mgr. the Dauphin remained in the Castle with a very limited number of the National Guard, the majority of them having accompanied the King to Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. The young Prince on that day had as Battalion Commandant an officer named de Luigné, who, although a gentleman by birth, and the possessor of an income of 80,000 francs, had gone over bodily to the Revolution. He was a worthless debauchee, whose only associates were men who, like himself, had lost their reputations, and with whom he dissipated his entire fortune. He inspired such distrust that M. de Gouvion himself came to me to assure me that he had taken every precaution to prevent this rascal causing any un-

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easiness. M. d'Arblay, an officer of the National Guard, who was known to me as being very much attached to the King, had orders not to lose sight of him for a moment, and even to follow him into the apartments of Mgr. the Dauphin, in case his duties should oblige him to go there. Everything was quite quiet during the absence of the King; the sky alone was lowering, for there had been a great storm and loud claps of thunder while their Majesties were in church. They returned in a state of extreme depression. This state of mind indeed was habitual with the Royal Family, whose only consolation for what they had to suffer, was the hope that the measures which were at that moment in preparation to extricate them from their cruel captivity, would be crowned with success.

The steps which the Ministers had compelled the King to take rendered the Assembly more audacious than ever. It received with satisfaction the denunciation of Louis Baujour, Commissary of Marine, against M. de Fleurieu, notwithstanding his well-known character of infidelity and unscrupulousness, and it went so far as to consider the question of calling upon the King to account for his Civil List. M. de Fleurieu, alarmed at the bare idea of a denunciation, and the difficulty of reconciling the attachment he bore the King with the servile submission exacted by the Assembly, sent in his resignation, and was succeeded by M. Thévenard. M. Tarbé was at the same time appointed Minister of Public Communications. He

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was a well-informed man, perfectly honest, and strongly attached to the King. I had personal proof of this. The King also honoured him with his confidence and esteem.

The unfortunate Colony of San Domingo experienced fresh disasters. The promoters of disorder caused a report to be circulated that the decrees of the 8th of March and the 12th of October were going to be recalled; that the result would be the admission of coloured people into the Assemblies, and consequently the emanicipation of the negroes. This expectation caused fresh excitement in a country where every head was already sufficiently turned. The troops on their arrival took sides against the white population, revolted, and refused to obey M. de Blanchelande, the Governor of San Domingo. They massacred M. de Mauduit, their Colonel, who endeavoured to bring them back to their allegiance, and everything pointed to a very alarming insurrection, which would necessarily involve the loss of the Colony. These details were reported to the Assembly by an officer who witnessed the massacre of M. de Mauduit, and who escaped almost by a miracle from the hands of these maniacs. The Assembly, far from displaying any indignation at them, simply referred them to the Committee of Reports.

This Committee brought forward a bill for the admission of coloured men, born of free parents, into the colonial and parochial Assemblies. All the reasonable members of the Assembly opposed

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this bill, and pointed out that it would result in the revolt of the negroes against the whites, fearful massacres, and the loss of the Colonies. But the demagogues having declared that they preferred the loss of the Colonies to a loss of principle, and Dupont de Nemours and several others, led away by a mad love of liberty, having joined them, the bill was converted into a decree, which speedily brought about all the evils which had been predicted from it.

The excesses which increased in every part of the kingdom caused a large number of members of the Assembly to reflect seriously, and determined M. de Pastoret to request it to decree a penal code to put an end to the impunity and stop the disturbances, and at the same time to take into consideration the regulation of the form of the right of petition. Fearing at the same time that such a request might make him enemies, he made a point of eulogising the submission of the city of Paris, and the energy with which the National Guard, momentarily led astray, had returned to their duty; and he concluded by stating that this same city of Paris, which had been the first to acquit itself of the sacred duty of insurrection, would be the firmest support of the Constitution.

The Assembly was requested to issue minor *assignats* for the convenience of the inhabitants of Paris. This currency involves no loss, said the promoters of the Revolution; silver gains. I put them on the same footing, said M. de Crillon, who

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would have been very sorry if anybody had asked him to give a personal proof of it. M. de Montesquiou, in voting for the issue, made a most pompous harangue in praise of the prosperity of France. Folly was pushed to its extreme point during this sitting, and shortly afterwards the Assembly decreed the issue of minor *assignats*, in spite of all the inconveniences that might result.

Bouche, Robespierre, and M. de Menou, as well as several others of the same party, once more demanded the union of the Comtat of Avignon with France. They took good care not to let it be known that the numerous petitions which they presented on this subject had been obtained in the midst of robbery and bloodshed, and the devastation of the towns of the Comtat. They expatiated at great length on the rights of France over this unhappy country, and employed violence to demonstrate the necessity for the union.

MM. Malouet and de Clermont proved conclusively that the greater part of the petitioners were not of full age, and that the signatures had only been given in fear of the brigands who infested the country. They traced crimes of every kind to the cut-throat Jourdan, so well-known in Paris for his ferocity and cruelty. This wretch was associated with two of the Municipality of Avignon, his worthy rivals (Mainville and Tournal), who, aided by deserters from the Penthièvre and Soissonnais regiments, devastated the towns and country districts,

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and carried their fury to such an extent that they put to death those of their own comrades who retained some small residuum of humanity. MM. Malouet and de Clermont pointed out the want of force in the arguments of the advocates of the union of the Comtat with France; the danger which might result from the anxiety caused to foreign Powers by such a violation of the right of nations; and they concluded by complaining of the dishonesty which had led to the abstraction of the documents which would have demonstrated the truth about the events which were to be brought to the notice of the Assembly.

The demagogues, unable to reply to such arguments, took refuge in insult, and urged the Assembly at least to pronounce a decree which would not entirely decide the question. In compliance with their wishes, it confined itself to decreeing that the town of Avignon and the Comtat should not form an integral part of France.

M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, on leaving the Assembly, was in great danger. Insulted, and threatened with being thrown into the pond of the Tuileries, by a crowd of blackguards who obstructed his passage, he had only time to take refuge in the porter's lodge, where several private individuals went to his assistance. Ten grenadiers of the Angoulême regiment escorted him in a carriage to his house, whither a riotous multitude had preceded him, and had already broken open the doors. The grenadiers

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defended him, and so gave the Mayor and the National Guard time to arrive, stop the disturbance, and disperse the crowd.

The wretches of Avignon, by way of revenge for the check they had received, besieged the town of Carpentras; but it defended itself so vigorously that they were compelled to raise the siege, after having lost a considerable number of their unworthy associates. All these misfortunes were due to the cowardice of M. du Portail, who, through fear of displeasing the Jacobin Clubs, opposed the removal of the Penthièvre and de Soissonnais regiments, whose men had revolted and were devastating the Comtat. They were, moreover, the result of the veto placed by the Minister against the Dauphinois going to the assistance of the Comtadins, whom they would have easily rescued from their persecutors.

The fear lest the decree just passed by the Assembly would injure the rights of France over the Comtat furnished the demagogues with the opportunity of reopening the question, by suggesting that it was at least necessary to unite the town of Avignon, in order to rescue it from the calamities which had for so long been overwhelming it. The Assembly, not daring to recur to a decree so formally discussed, endeavoured to weaken it by passing a new one, in which it requested the King to send mediators to interpose their good offices between the Comtadins and the people of

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Avignon; to put a stop to the prevailing hostilities, a provision necessary before any ulterior step could be taken in regard to the rights of France over this unfortunate district; to prevent any invasion of French territory by the troops of Avignon; to treat as deserters the Frenchmen of either army who refused to enter France after the orders they had received; and to treat as suborners all those who recruited in France for either party.

Disturbances still continued in all parts of the kingdom. The disbanding of the paid company of the Oratory battalion roused all the factious spirits. The Clubs protested against the injustice of exacting passive obedience from the troops; the Sections were divided among themselves on the question whether or not it was lawful to insist on the fresh oath which M. de la Fayette wished to administer; and the malcontents hastened to seize this opportunity of creating dissension among the National Guard.

Distressing news, risings, massacres, and arson were reported from every quarter, and the impunity with which these crimes were committed augmented their number. The populace of Versailles wished to prevent the departure of the Flanders regiment, which was under orders to leave that town for the Nord Department. They succeeded in gaining over some soldiers, who brought others with them, and there was a momentary attempt at resistance. M. de Montmorin, Governor of Fontainebleau, and second in command of the regiment, was twice thrown from

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his horse, but he stood his ground, and, assisted by the Chasseurs of Lorraine and the National Guard of Versailles, he brought them back to their duty, put himself at their head, and made them set out for their destination. M. de Montmorin was an excellent man, full of honour and bravery, and conspicuous for his attachment to the King. He never ceased to furnish proofs of this, and was one of the earliest victims of the Revolution, at the time when our misfortunes were at their height.

After various discussions as to the form of the elections for the forthcoming legislature, the Assembly decreed that none of the members of the National Assembly should be eligible for re-election until after four complete years, dating from the day of the dissolution; that as soon as the elections should be over, it would fix the date when its own functions should cease and those of its successors should begin; the existence of the new legislature was ordered to terminate on the 1st of May 1793. Several members of the Right demanded that the Assembly, prior to its dissolution, should determine the extent of the power to be granted to the King, in order to put an end to the anarchy which was desolating the kingdom, but this demand was not sufficiently in accordance with the views of the Assembly for it to condescend to take it into consideration.

The Abbé Raynal, deeply distressed by the abuse which had been made of the principles of liberty set

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forth in his *Histoire philosophique du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, thought it only right, on his return to France, to testify his regret to the Assembly, and in a letter addressed to it to unfold the true views which he thought necessary to induce it to repair the wrongs which its excessive love of liberty had led it to commit. "It would be well," he said, "for you yourselves to confess that you have gone too far; to restore to the King the authority necessary to enable him to do good; to wisely balance the power of the various authorities; and not to give the multitude a power which they can only abuse. These laws will cause you to be blessed by the people, who, on the contrary, will one day curse those who, by sanctioning anarchy, will bring upon France misfortunes over which you will groan when there is no longer time to repair them."

The Assembly was furious, and exclaimed against audacity worthy, so they said, of Malouet and his party; and the Abbé Raynal, who had been praised up to the skies so long as his principles were thought to be the same as those of the Assembly, was looked upon, even by the most moderate men of the Left, as a madman, and his remorse, which it was so far from sharing, was attributed to the weakness of old age.

MM. de Saint-Fargeau and Robespierre demanded the abolition of capital punishment, and of all ignominious punishment for any crime whatsoever. The former even advocated the idea that after a

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long imprisonment a civic baptism should re-establish the criminal in all his rights. Long speeches were made for the purpose of demanding, in the name of humanity, the infusion of a greater amount of clemency in the Penal Code for the repression of crime; but the inconvenience of the abolition of capital punishment and of condemnation to hard labour, at a time when France was overrun with wretches to whom crime cost nothing, was so strongly pointed out that they were allowed to remain. The necessity for building eighty-three houses of detention, perhaps, made more impression than the motive of inspiring public tranquillity.

The Assembly, finding that the right of pardon, abusive in itself, gave the King too much authority, decreed, without any regard for his Royal Majesty, that it should be withheld from everybody. The abolition of a right enjoyed by all, even the most insignificant sovereigns of Europe, affected the King deeply. But that was of small consequence to the Assembly, which, by no means moved by his submission to its slightest wish, overwhelmed him day after day with fresh slights. Achard de Bouvouloir, a deputy, having evinced a desire to point out to the Assembly the inconvenience which would result from the admission of soldiers and petty officers into the Clubs, was interrupted, and compelled to send the proofs which he was about to bring forward, to the Committee of Reports.

The Assembly also decreed, but not until after

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some stormy debates, that no bull, ordinance, or letter from the Pope should be received in France without the approval of the Corps Législatif, sanctioned by the King, and forbade all such documents, until that had taken place, to be posted up or to have any legal authority; and that any bishop, priest, ecclesiastic, or public functionary who should cause them to be printed, in contravention of the decree, should be prosecuted as a disturber of public order, and should undergo the punishment of civil degradation.

The demagogues made fresh attempts to secure the disbanding of the army, or at least of all the officers suspected of hatred of the Revolution, and regret for the old *régime;* and they spoke of them with contempt, which was strongly deprecated by M. de Cazalès and other members of the Assembly. Some of them, even on the Left, pointed out to the Assembly the danger of such a measure, at a time when hostile proceedings on the part of foreign Powers were to be feared. It consequently merely prayed the King promptly to sign the decree placing the troops on the frontier on a war footing, ordering the provisioning of their stations, and summoning a levy of men from all the National Guards of the Kingdom.

The king was, moreover, requested to send the Prince de Condé an order, as soon as possible, to re-enter France within a fortnight, or to withdraw from the frontier, swearing at the same time not to

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undertake anything against the Constitution sanctioned by the King, nor to disturb the tranquillity of the State in any way; in default whereof his property would be confiscated, and all communication with him forbidden, under pain of prosecution for treason to the country. In this decree there was an addition to the effect that, in case he should present himself in arms on the frontier, an order would be issued to all citizens to at once seize him and his adherents; and he was rendered responsible for all hostile movements that might be directed against France.

So many repeated insults contributed to confirm the King in his resolution to withdraw himself from a tyranny from which the most disastrous results would accrue to the nation, as well as to himself. Ways were found of even rendering homage insulting, of which the following fact is a proof.

A man named Palloi, an architect of the city, who was a leader of the destroyers of the Bastille, sent a request to the Queen to be allowed to present to Mgr. the Dauphin a set of dominos made entirely of stones from the Bastille. Nobody dare refuse, and the Queen sent word to him that if he would come and see Mgr. the Dauphin in his garden, he would accept the present there. I was on that day confined to my bed with so severe an attack of hepatic colic, that I had been bled three times during the day, and the only one to replace me was Madame de Soucy. I was afraid lest the fear of compromising herself

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might cause her to commit some piece of stupidity, and I asked the Princess de Tarente, who frequently went with me when I took the young Prince for a walk, to be with him on this occasion without fail, and to keep a watch on Madame de Soucy.

As it was necessary on all occasions to avoid the malicious interpretation placed by the patriots on everything said by the royal family, we arranged that Mgr. the Dauphin should simply say to M. Palloi, "I am very much obliged to you, sir, for your idea that a set of dominos might amuse me, and I thank you sincerely for those you have given me." He was furious at receiving such a present, and he was still more so when M. Palloi told him that the present should be all the more agreeable to him because, as it was made of the stones of the Bastille, it would remind him of the generosity with which the King, his father, had renounced all idea of despotism, and had promised to inculcate in him from an early age sentiments akin to his own.

Mgr. the Dauphin, with his face very red, made the reply that had been arranged for him. He requested to be allowed to go indoors as soon as M. Palloi had gone, and he sent the set of dominos away at once, asking that they might never be mentioned again.

No greater promise could be given of nobility and dignity of feeling than was given by the young Prince, without the slightest approach to haughtiness; for he was full of goodness to all who were

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brought in contact with him, and perfectly amiable both with the children who played with him and the people surrounding him. His amusements partook of his lively and enthusiastic disposition. He had a pronounced predilection in favour of everything military, and one of his greatest pleasures was to fire off little cannons in his garden, he himself, sword in hand, giving the word of command. Then he thought himself a little hero, and assumed a serious air which was pleasant to see.

He had another kind of amusement which pleased him greatly. It was to assume the costume of a French knight of olden time, and to put on a miniature suit of armour which M. Palloi had made for him. With a helmet on his head, a cuirass on his body, and a lance in his hand, he thought himself a veritable knight. This game was only allowed in private, and in his own rooms, in order to prevent the malevolent from making any remarks about this little amusement. He importuned the Queen to allow him to go down to her room in his favourite costume to such an extent that, in order to get rid of the idea, she told him that she would only consent if he would at once name the French knight whom he would represent before her. "It will be," he said, "the Chevalier Bayard, without fear and without reproach."

He was very fond of reading historical anecdotes, and the Abbé d'Avaux, his tutor, made him read all those which were calculated to instruct as well as to

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amuse him. He talked about them with us, impressed them on his memory, and made the most apposite remarks without pedantry and with charming simplicity. He one day considerably astonished the Abbé Barthélemy, of the Academy of Science. Some fragments of the history of Scipio and Hannibal had been read to the young Prince, and comparisons were drawn between them. "I like Scipio much the best," he said: "he is my hero." "Would you like to see his shield?" said the Abbé d'Avaux to him. "I should be delighted." The Abbé Barthélemy, to whom this conversation was recounted, was very pleased to bring it to him. Mgr. the Dauphin examined it attentively and turned it over and over; then, darting away, he fetched his sword, and rubbed it on the shield. "What are you doing, Monsigneur?" asked the Abbé Barthélemy. "I am rubbing my sword on the shield of a great man." The Abbé Barthélemy was astounded at the action, and the readiness of the reply. But the Abbé d'Auvax did not leave him long in suspense in regard to the motive which had led to it. He told him that it was merely a very happy application of a tale he had told him about what was done by a regiment of grenadiers when they saw at Strasbourg the tomb of Marshal Saxe. The Abbé Barthélemy, much touched by the sight of this lovable child, could not refrain from showing him his satisfaction at the apt use he had made of his memory, which indeed was admirable.

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He was quick at repartee, and to our astonishment one day gave us a proof of this. He was playing at a little game which obliged everybody to tell an anecdote. "I have a very funny one," said he. "At the door of the Assembly there was a porter who sold the decrees as soon as they were printed. To shorten his cry he called out, 'For two *sous*, for two *sous*, the National Assembly!' A wag who was passing said to him, 'My friend, you tell us what they are worth, but not what they cost us.' Now, confess," said the Prince, "that that was funny." I had expressly forbidden him to speak of anything concerning the Assembly. Looking at him rather severely, therefore, I asked him who had told him that little tale. Assuming the defensive, he said to me, very smilingly,—"M. l'Abbé, who taught us the game, told us, Madame, that everybody is obliged to relate an anecdote, but it is not part of the game to tell where it comes from." And so he got rid of a question which embarrassed him, without naming the person who had told him his little anecdote.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE YEAR 1791.

The Journey to Varennes.

THE annoyance I experienced in consequence of the daily insults paid to the royal family, and my anxiety in regard to the consequences that might result from them, rendered my convalescence protracted. The Queen, who had been good enough to come and see me several times, came to me very early one morning to persuade me to go to the waters of Plombières. "It is probable," she said to me, "that we shall be compelled to leave Paris, and you are too weak to accompany us." The idea of leaving Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame in the midst of the dangers to which they might be exposed, distressed me exceedingly, and inspired me with strength enough to hope in a few days to be able to accompany them. Moreover, as I said to the Queen, I could not go to the waters without letting their departure be known, as I had publicly said to one of my advisers that death alone could make me abandon Mgr. the Dauphin. I said to the Queen, in addition, that I hoped Heaven would give me the

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strength of which I had need, but that if such should not be the case, I would not leave my room. "But think of the dangers to which you will expose yourself," replied the Queen quickly. "If I were a man," I replied, "your Majesty would not have prevented me from throwing myself in the breach. I know I am worthy to be the daughter of a father who lost his life in the service of his King and his country. Your Majesty need not trouble about me; if I should be ill, I would stay at the first inn, at the risk of whatever might happen to me; but your Majesty may rest assured that I shall remain in Paris if I have not strength to bear the journey, or if I should cause the slightest delay in the journey."[1]

The departure was fixed for the night of Sunday, or early on Monday, the 20th of June, but

[1] I cannot pass over in silence the reproach brought against me by M. de Bouillé in his *Memoires*, and by M. Royou in his *Histoire de France*, when they assert that my obstinacy in accompanying Mgr. the Dauphin in his journey to Varennes prevented the King from taking a distinguished military officer with him in his carriage. The Queen, who alone informed me of their journey, never said a word about this, but merely spoke of my health as an obstacle. I certainly should not have insisted, if she had expressed any such desire. Moreover, I would, in case of need, have taken the place of one of the two women who accompanied the Royal Family in the attendant carriage. In such a case attachment consults neither fitness nor rights, and I should then have reconciled the duty imposed upon me by my position—that of never leaving Mgr. the Dauphin—with the desire their Majesties would have expressed that they should be accompanied by somebody whose services might have been more useful to them than mine could have been.

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the fear lest the chambermaid on duty with Mgr. the Dauphin, who was known to be attached to M. de la Fayette, would reveal to him the departure of the royal family, caused a postponement till the following day, the 21st, when she would, as a matter of course, be replaced by another one on whom reliance could be placed. It was feared that if the former were put out of her turn, some consistency would be given to the rumour which was current, even in the Castle, of the approaching departure of the royal family. M. de Bouillé was warned of it, and if the Duke de Choiseul had been gifted with less carelessness and more self-possession, this delay would not have been productive of any inconvenience.

In order to disarm all suspicion, the Queen herself took her children for a walk at Tivoli, in the garden belonging to M. Boutin, on the Monday evening, and when she came back she gave the battalion Commandant the necessary orders in regard to her going out on the following day. I did the same in regard to Mgr. the Dauphin ; and in order to prevent my servants having any idea of departure, I told them to have a bath ready for me on the following day at the hour when I left the room of Mgr. the Dauphin ; and I went up to his room at ten o'clock, according to my custom, with my maid, who slept in a room adjoining his.

A moment afterwards the Queen came into the room, and roused the young Prince, who was sound

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asleep. Hardly did he understand that he was going to a fortress, where he would command his regiment, than he jumped out of bed, saying,— "Quick, quick, make haste, give me my sword and boots, and let us be off!" The idea of being like Henri IV., whom he had taken as his model, roused him to such an extent that he never closed his eyes during the journey. It was not until after we were compelled to stop that nature asserted her rights, and he slept a calm and tranquil sleep.

The Queen, in making her departure known, told Madame de Neuville, first chambermaid to Mgr. the Dauphin, to follow him in a post-chaise with Madame Branyer, first chambermaid to Madame, who had been warned, and was to betake herself to the apartments of Mgr. the Dauphin. She told Madame de Bar, the woman on whom, as I have already said, perfect reliance could not be placed, that she was sorry not to be able to take her with her, that she would have her sent safely home, and that she was sufficiently sure of her attachment to be sure also of her discretion. This poor woman was most touching in her behaviour; she threw herself at the feet of the Queen, kissed her hand, and uttered prayers for the success of the journey, which occupied her far more than the persecution she might possibly experience, or the precautions that were being taken for her safe removal to her own home.

We went down to the apartments of the Queen,

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where we found the King. Their Majesties told me that they would be followed by three of the Body Guard, one of whom would give his arm to the Queen to conduct her on foot to the carriage; and that the two others would conduct the travelling carriage which was to await the King at some distance from the barrier: all the royal family went on foot except Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame. The King added that I should not be made acquainted with the details of the journey until we were fairly on the road, so that if I had the misfortune to be stopped I should not be so embarrassed by any questions that might be put to me; and he gave me a letter signed in his own hand to prove, in case of accident, that I had taken away Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame by his orders. He, moreover, gave me permission to take with me M. de Gouvion if we should meet him, on condition that he would undertake to facilitate the departure of their Majesties. I had also marked two gold coins, one to give to a National Guard, if chance brought me across one, with the information that his fortune should be made, and a large sum of money given to him whenever he should bring me a coin similar to the one I should keep to compare with his.

Some time previously I had taken the precaution to get my daughter Pauline to make a little silk dress, and a bonnet, wherewith to dress up Mgr. the Dauphin as a little girl, should circumstances render such a disguise necessary. We made use of

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it successfully. When the carriage arrived, the Queen herself went to see if all was quiet in the courtyard, and not seeing anybody, she embraced me, and said,—"The King and I, Madame, place in your hands with the utmost confidence all that we hold dear in the world. Everything is ready; go." We went through the apartments of M. de Villequier, where there was no sentry; we passed through a small and little used doorway, and got into a worn and old-fashioned carriage, like a *fiacre*, which was driven by the Count de Fersen.

In order to give the King time to arrive, we took a drive along the quays, and returned by the Rue Saint Honoré, to wait for the royal family opposite the house which was then called the Hôtel de Gaillarbois. I waited for three-quarters of an hour without seeing any member of the royal family arrive. M. de Fersen played the part of coachman to perfection, whistling, chatting with a supposed comrade who was there by chance, and taking snuff out of his snuff-box. I was on thorns, although I did not betray my anxiety, when Madame said to me,—"There is M. de la Fayette." I hid Mgr. the Dauphin under my petticoats, telling them both that they might be quite easy in their minds. I, however, was by no means so. M. Bailly followed him at a little distance. They both passed on quite unsuspectingly; and after three-quarters of an hour's anxiety I had the consolation of seeing Madame Elizabeth arrive. It was just the beginning of hope.

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It was half-past eleven, and not until after midnight did we see the King arrive. MM. Bailly and de la Fayette, who had gone to him to be in attendance when he retired for the night, began a conversation, and in order not to arouse any suspicion in their minds, the King was unwilling to appear in a hurry to go to bed. Then the King had to undress, go to bed, dress again, put on a wig by way of disguise, and leave the Tuileries on foot to get to the carriage. The Queen could not leave until after the King; and the extreme attachment he bore her was strongly proved on this occasion by the manner in which he displayed his impatience. As soon as she was safely in the carriage, he took her in his arms, kissed her, and said over and over again,—"How glad I am to see you here!" They all kissed each other; all the royal family did me the same honour; and convinced that we had overcome the most difficult obstacle, we began to hope that Heaven would favour our journey.

The King told us that after having got rid of MM. Bailly and de la Fayette, he went out by himself with the greatest ease through the large door of the Tuileries; that he was quite comfortable, because of the precaution he had taken to make the Chevalier de Coigny go out of the same door, his figure being so like that of the King, and those on duty at the gate having been accustomed to let him go out every evening for a fortnight past in all security; that so completely was he at his ease, that his shoe having

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become undone, he put it right without attracting any attention; and that he had not experienced the slightest difficulty.

The Chevalier de Coigny was one of the most faithful and affectionate servants of the King. To him the King confided the secret of his journey, and if he had followed his advice, there is every reason to believe that the journey would have been successful. "Nobody," he said to the King, "does more justice than I do to the bravery and fidelity of the Body Guard. But on so important an occasion people must be employed who are in the habit of taking journeys, and who have been placed in situations of difficulty. Priol, a Commandant of the Gendarmerie, a man with a cool and cautious head, would be of great use to you, and so would a retired post-horse pioneer, who has a perfect knowledge of all the roads in the kingdom, and is full of intelligence and unlimited attachment to the person of your Majesty." He named a third, whose name and condition I have forgotten.

The King, who wished to show this mark of confidence in his Body Guard, unfortunately did not follow this wise advice, but persisted in his first resolve. He asked M. Dagoût, acting Major of the Body Guard, to give him three men to convey letters to the Princes, his brothers; and he, ignorant of their real destination, gave him the first three that came to his hand. They were called MM. de Montier, de Maldan, and de Valori. One cannot, without doing

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them injustice, doubt their courage and devotion; but accustomed by their rank to perfect obedience, and never having exercised supreme command, such an undertaking was above their strength. They did not dare to take anything on themselves, but asked for the King's orders, which they would have carried out, however dangerous they might have been, even at the peril of their lives; but they lacked the audacity necessary under the circumstances in which they were placed.

The Queen had taken into her confidence Madame Thibault, her principal chambermaid, a person of great merit, and attached beyond measure to her Majesty. She made every arrangement necessary for the journey, and took a passport for Tournay, whence she was to rejoin her Majesty as soon as she received information of her arrival in the town where she was to make a momentary halt. She was told to take with her my chambermaid, whose terror and innocence, although they made the royal family laugh, rendered it absolutely necessary that she should not be left to herself.

We had experience of several minor incidents, which prove only too clearly that very little causes frequently influence great events. M. de Fersen, fearing lest the Body Guard should have taken another road than the one he had pointed out to them, and that, as he had taken the shortest road, he should be obliged to repass the barrier in order to rejoin them, elected to take the longest road, to obviate this

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inconvenience, which made us lose half-an-hour, and this added to the three-quarters of an hour's delay suffered by the King, made us an hour and a half late. We then found a marriage feast going on among the *employés* at the barrier, with plenty of people and light at the gates, but fortunately we were not recognised, and we passed without difficulty. To crown our misfortunes, the horses in the King's carriage fell twice between Nintré and Châlons, all the harness broke, and we lost more than an hour in making good this disaster.

It has been said, but wrongly, that the King stopped to dine. He and the royal family only ate in the carriage. There was no stoppage; the King only got out once during the entire journey, when he went into a stable where there was not a soul, nor did he speak to anybody, but got into his carriage again directly. The children only got out twice, when the postillions were going up steep hills at a walking pace; I took advantage of these opportunities to let them have some fresh air, but these short walks did not cause any delay.

At some distance from the Clichy barrier we found the carriage which was awaiting us, and we left the old one and its horses without troubling ourselves as to what would become of them. M. de Fersen drove the King as far as Laye, where we took post-horses. The King, on leaving him, evinced his gratitude in the most affectionate manner, hoping that he should display it otherwise than in words,

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and flattering himself that he should see him again soon.

We travelled in a large berlin, very comfortable, but not at all extraordinary in appearance, as has been so often stated since the disastrous issue of this unhappy journey. I had to pass off as the mistress, under the name of the Baroness de Korff; the King was my valet, the Queen my maid, and Madame Elizabeth the children's nurse. It was known that the Baroness de Korff, whose name I had assumed, had journeyed express from Paris to Montmédy by the same route that we were taking, in a carriage like ours, with the same number of persons, and that she had nowhere been asked to show her passport. We had been careful enough even to calculate the number of hours which it had taken her to reach Montmédy, and we shall see by-and-by the sad result of this last precaution.

When the barrier was passed the King, beginning to be hopeful about his journey, commenced to talk about his plans. Montmédy was to be the first halting-place, whence he would communicate with whatsoever party he thought most fitting, as he had thoroughly made up his mind only to leave the kingdom in case circumstances should render it necessary for him to pass through certain frontier towns, in order to enable him more quickly to reach that particular one in France which he wished to make his headquarters; he was unwilling to rest even for a moment on foreign ground.

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"Here I am," said this good Prince, "outside that town of Paris where I have experienced so much bitterness. You may be quite sure that when I am once firmly seated in the saddle, I shall be very different from myself as you have seen me up to now." He then read us the memorandum he had left behind him at Paris for transmission to the Assembly; and he gladly anticipated the happiness he hoped to confer upon France by the return of the Princes, his brothers, and his faithful servants, and by the possibility of re-establishing religion and repairing the evils which his compulsory sanctions might have caused. Then looking at his watch, which marked eight o'clock, he said, "La Fayette just now does not know what to do with himself."

It was difficult to share the anxiety of the General, or to have any other feeling than one of joy at having thrown off our dependence on him.

It was far otherwise with us when we thought of the position of those whom we had left behind in Paris. We were far from suspecting that stupor and consternation would replace the audacity which had been conspicuous in the Parisians through every phase of the Revolution; and not without good grounds were we anxious in regard to the lengths to which they might proceed with those of whose attachment to the King and the royal family they were fully aware. The further we went, the more hopeful did we become. "When we have passed

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Châlons we shall have nothing more to fear," said the King. "At Pont de Sommevel we shall find the first detachment of troops, and we shall be safe." We passed Châlons without being recognised. We were then absolutely easy in our minds, and we were far from thinking that our good fortune had come to the end of its tether, and was to be succeeded by a most frightful catastrophe.

When we reached Pont de Sommevel, what was our grief and consternation when the couriers reported to us that they had not found any trace of troops, nor of anybody who could give information about them; that they dared not ask any questions, for fear of arousing suspicion, and that we could only hope that at Orbeval, which was the next post, we should be more fortunate! But our good fortune was at an end. Heaven, which wished to prove our august and unfortunate sovereign to the bitter end, permitted the Duke de Choiseul to lose his head altogether. The undertaking was beyond his strength. His heart was pure, and he would have allowed himself to be killed, in order to save the King; but he lacked that calm, quiet courage which enables a man coolly to consider events, and to adopt remedial measures in unforeseen circumstances.

M. de Choiseul, when he took leave of the King, gave him an itinerary of his route as far as Pont de Sommevel, where he would find himself at the head of the first detachment of troops ordered to

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escort his Majesty. Furnished with all the information necessary for our safe arrival at the end of our journey, he had marked down where the King was to take great precautions against being recognised; had calculated, as I have already said, the time he ought to start, and, consequently, the time he ought to arrive at Pont de Sommevel. But, unfortunately, in this calculation he had taken no account of accidents; and this was the reason why we were lost.

In order to avoid all suspicion on the part of the troops, who had been posted in detachments from Pont de Sommevel as far as Clermont, they were told that they were to escort some specie, the arrival of which had been postponed until Monday, the 21st. Some remarks made about the delay in the arrival of the specie, rendered M. de Choiseul uneasy, and he, perceiving that the King was two hours behind the appointed time for his arrival, came to the conclusion that his Majesty had changed his mind, and that the project had miscarried. He then, as I have been assured, sent Léonard, hairdresser to the Queen, whom he had brought with him from Paris in his carriage, to warn the troops stationed along the route that the journey had miscarried, and that the King had not appeared, enjoining him moreover to go as far as Montmédy with the same intelligence. He then got on horseback, telling the detachment at Pont de Sommevel that he had just received news that the specie would not pass that

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way, and that he was going to make for Montmédy by the shortest road.

This proceeding was devoid of sense. By following the main road the detachment might have met the King, in case an accidental delay had occurred on the journey, a contingency which M. de Choiseul ought to have foreseen. The cross road he ordered the troops to take, spread the alarm throughout the neighbourhood of Pont de Sommevel. It only needed that to create uneasiness in a district as revolutionary as that through which we had passed. All the towns in it were ill-disposed, and the King came through Varennes simply in order to avoid Verdun, though there were no post-horses in the former wretched town. To obviate that inconvenience, a relay of horses had been sent to a house at the entrance of the town, in order to convey the King to Dun, where he was to find M. de Bouillé at the head of the troops. So little anxiety was felt in regard to passing through Varennes, that no troops had been posted there, the precaution being limited to the despatch of the second son of M. de Bouillé, and the younger brother of M. de Raigecourt, for the purpose of seeing to the relay, and immediately warning M. de Bouillé of the arrival of the King at Varennes. This want of precaution was carried so far, that no information was given as to the name of the inn where the horses were.

We were no more fortunate at Orbeval than at

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Pont de Sommevel. There was the same silence, the same anxiety. We reached Sainte Menehould in a state of violent agitation, which was increased to a still greater extent when M. Daudouins, a Captain in M. de Choiseul's regiment, rode up to the carriage for a moment, and said to me, in an undertone,—"The arrangements have been badly made; I am going away, in order not to arouse suspicion." These few words pierced my heart, but there was nothing for it but to continue our journey without the slightest sign of hesitation.

By sheer ill-luck the wretch Drouet, son of the post-master at Sainte Menehould, a furious patriot, happened at that very moment to be at the door, and having been led by curiosity to examine the carriage, he thought he recognised the King, a suspicion which was converted into certainty when he compared his Majesty's face with an *assignat* which he had in his pocket. The miscreant mounted on horseback, followed the King's carriage as far as Clermont, and having gathered that it was going to Varennes, he thought it would be easy to intercept it by riding on in advance, and warning the authorities and inhabitants on whom he could rely, that the King was coming.

We therefore reached Clermont without inconvenience; but on our arrival at that town, Count Charles de Damas, Colonel of the Dragoons of Monsieur, who had not left his post, in spite of the order from the Duke de Choiseul, told us that there

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was considerable excitement in the district, and that it would be impossible for him to march his regiment and escort his Majesty's carriage. He in fact made the attempt, but unsuccessfully. The authorities joined the inhabitants in preventing the regiment from leaving the town, and the troops refused to obey M. de Damas. He was tempted to induce them by telling them they were going to escort the King and his family; but he dared not do it, fearing to meet with a refusal which would have led to the arrest of the King. He contented himself with sending off an officer at full speed to Varennes, to warn MM. de Bouillé and de Raigecourt that the King was coming; but the fatality which dogged every step taken by the King to extricate himself from his cruel position, made that officer, who was not well acquainted with the country, take the Verdun road instead of that of Varennes, and he was consequently too late to accomplish his mission. On the upper ground of this last-mentioned town, we perceived a man who appeared to be hiding himself. Our anxiety increased. We thought we were betrayed, and we pursued our way in a state of distress and grief, more easily imagined than described.

The situation was frightful; it became still more so when, having reached Varennes, we found neither a relay nor anybody who could give us the slightest indication as to what was to become of us. We knocked at a door; we asked if anything was known of a relay awaiting us. We could not glean any

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information on the subject so interesting to us, and we tried the only expedient left to us—that of proposing to the postillions that they should do a second stage, to be paid for proportionately. They refused, saying that their horses were too tired. We then told them to take us to the last inn in the town, so that we might start again as soon as their horses were rested. There was nothing else left for us to do, and the wretch Drouet had had time to take every precaution to prevent the progress of their Majesties. He had barricaded the bridge, which had to be crossed in order to get out of the town, by overturning on it a waggon load of furniture that chance had brought to his hand, and he had given notice to the National Guard of the town, and to Sauce, the Procureur of the Commune, of the arrival of the King and the necessity of stopping him. He had, moreover, secured the services of a man named Mangin, an ardent patriot, who seconded him to perfection. They treated the National Guard and the soldiers in the town to drink, and sent word to Clermont to the Dragoons of the regiment of Monsieur to refuse to comply with the orders of their Colonel to escort the King on his journey.

Nevertheless, the carriages still went onwards; but as soon as that with the attendants, which preceded the one occupied by the King, reached Sauce's house, it was stopped, and its occupants were compelled to get out, while it was ascertained whether their passports were in order. It was half-past eleven

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at night by this time. We were told by the Body Guard of what was going on, but we had gone too far into the town to be able to retreat, and we continued our journey. A moment afterwards, just as we were passing under an arcade leading to the bridge of Variennes, two private individuals, named Leblanc and Poucin, stopped the carriage, and threatened to upset it if the slightest resistance was made.[1] I had no knowledge of this latter circumstance until after I got back to Paris. All I know is, that the Body Guard offered to force a passage for the King, but his Majesty declined the offer. Our passports were asked for, and though they were perfectly in order, and the Queen asked that no time might be lost, as we were in a hurry to reach our destination, all sorts of difficulties were made, in order to give time for the assembly of the patriots of the town and neighbourhood.

An officer came up to the King's carriage, told him in an undertone that there was a ford, and offered to try to lead him through it; but the King, who saw that the number of those surrounding the carriage increased every moment, and also that they were in a state of extreme exasperation, and being moreover afraid that his force was not strong enough

[1] Georges, a deputy of the town of Varennes, presented Leblanc and Poucin to the Assembly. A most cordial reception was given to them, and the Abbé Grégoire, who presided at the time, assured them that Varennes would ever be famous, and that all grateful Frenchmen would assemble round its walls if ever it should be attacked.

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and that he might therefore cause a massacre to no purpose, dared not give the order. He simply told the officer to press M. de Bouillé to use every effort to extricate him from his cruel position.

The alarm was sounded in Varennes and the entire neighbourhood, and it was impossible to conceal from ourselves that we were recognised. The King was resolute for a long time in his refusal to give his name or leave his carriage, but the questions accompanied by a promise to let us proceed if the examination of our passports was satisfactory, became so pressing, that there was no longer any means of resistance. The King went into the house of M. Sauce, Procureur of the Commune, and he was shown into a room, where the children lay down on a bed. Worn out with fatigue, they went to sleep at once. Their sleep was calm and tranquil, and the contrast between their state and that of their parents was absolutely harrowing.

They were not quite sure at Varennes if the people in Sauce's house were really the King and royal family; but Mangin, who knew his Majesty, went into the room to see, and he declared so positively that they were the King and his family, that there was no longer any room for doubt. This Mangin, a great patriot, went off with his fellow-patriots to all the neighbouring villages, and in less than an hour he had collected, partly from the town, and partly from the neighbourhood, four thousand of the National Guard.

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The King, seeing that further dissimulation would be of no avail, confessed that he was the King; that he left Paris to avoid the daily insults with which he had to put up; that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom; that he merely wished to go to Montmédy to be in a better position to watch over the proceedings of foreign powers; and that if the authorities of Varennes doubted the truth of his words, he would consent to be accompanied by such persons as they might select. The King and Queen made every possible attempt to touch their hearts, and to revive in them the old love of the French for their King. But theirs were hearts of brass, which fear alone could move. From time to time fears assailed them of the arrival of M. de Bouillé, and then they begged the King to protect them, and hesitated as to allowing him to continue his journey, but this frame of mind altered as soon as he reassured them on this point.

M. de Goguelas, whom M. de Bouillé had told off to assist M. de Choiseul, and who appeared to be in his confidence, arrived at Varennes, distressed beyond measure on account of the disastrous issue of the journey. He was anxious, with the assistance of the Lauzun Hussars, to attempt to rescue the King; but as Leblanc and Mangin exclaimed like madmen that the troops should only have his dead body, he pressed the point with so little persistence that the King refused to give the necessary order, and

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all he could do was to post the Hussars in front of the house occupied by the King and the royal family.[1]

The King sent to Clermont to countermand the dragoons who were there to serve as his escort. It mattered little whether he was obeyed, for they had already been won over, and their conduct in regard to M. de Damas proved how little reliance could be placed in them. All hope of the arrival of M. de Bouillé was not lost. Time, however, went by: nothing was heard of him, and hope in the end gave way to anxiety. M. de Damas, no longer flattering himself that he could make the detachment under his command useful, made his escape from Clermont and joined the King, whom he never left for an instant so long as his Majesty was at Varennes, impatiently awaiting the arrival of M. de Bouillé, and entreating his Majesty to postpone his departure as long as possible.

M. de Choiseul also came to Varennes, deeply distressed at the position of the King. But the

[1] The conduct of M. de Goguelas astonished everybody. He was a tall, cold, self-possessed man, who might have been supposed to be capable of moderating the impetuous and unreflecting spirit of the Duke de Choiseul. Nobody could imagine the reasons that prevented him from dissuading the Duke from a step as dangerous as that which he took at Pont de Sommevel, or from, at all events, finding some way of letting the King know of it, in the event of his journey being delayed by an accident, such as unfortunately did actually happen. But the unpardonable and inconceivable part of the business is that M. de Choiseul should have taken upon himself, as was actually the case, to send word to the officers who were in the secret of the journey, that it had failed, without having taken the trouble to ascertain that this was really so.

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feelings of his heart deceived him in regard to the terrible mistake he had made. He came merely to carry out the duty of every good Frenchman, and to die at the feet of the King, should circumstances so require, never dreaming that he had any error to repair, and believing that anybody else in his place would have done as he did.

MM. Baillon and de Romeuf—the former a battalion commander of the National Guard of Paris, and the latter aide-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, arrived at Varennes between three and four o'clock in the morning. They were the bearers of a decree of the Assembly directing that immediate and active steps should be taken to protect the persons of the King, Mgr. the Dauphin, the royal family, and the persons who accompanied them, and to secure their return to Paris with all the observances due to the royal Majesty. This same decree appointed MM. Péthion, Barnave, and de la Tour Maubourg, Commissioners of the Assembly, to carry out these arrangements, giving them power to make use of the National Guard, the troops of the line, and the administrative *Corps* in the execution of their task, and ordering these troops to pay implicit obedience to the Commissioners in regard to the carrying out of the decree. It ordered, moreover, the arrest of M. de Bouillé, and forbade in the most express terms any soldier to obey his orders; and it appointed M. Dumas, Adjutant of the Army, to command the troops who were to bring the King back to Paris,

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and to carry out all orders he might receive from the Commissioners.

When the Queen saw the two bearers of the decree arrive, both of whom were supposed to be entirely devoted to the royal family, she could not restrain her indignation, but reproached them with the contrast between their conduct and their daily protestations, snatched the decree out of their hands without allowing them to read it, and would even have torn it in pieces if the King had not restrained her. She contented herself with throwing it disdainfully on the ground.

Romeuf, who had still some sense of shame which made him blush for the part he was playing, remained silent; but Baillon, who thought of nothing but the reward he hoped to obtain as the price of his mission, only sought how best to deceive the King. "Take great care," he said, "not to arouse anxiety by a too lengthy stay in this town." And when the King said that, as the children needed rest, he should remain there some time, he replied, in a hypocritical tone,—"Although your Majesty does not do me the justice to believe that I only accepted the mission entrusted to me in the hope of being useful to you, I am going to do my utmost to persuade the people to respect the slumbers of Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame." But, so far from doing this, he incited them to hasten the departure of the King, by dwelling on his great alarm in regard to the danger they would incur if M. de Bouillé succeeded in carrying off the King.

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The night passed very sadly, the King not daring to employ force to extricate himself from his painful situation, and the officers, who would have obeyed him at the peril of their lives, not considering themselves in a position to take any decisive step without his authority. Such a step might have succeeded when we were stopped, but every moment brought with it new difficulties; excitement increased in proportion as the crowd did, especially as the most improbable rumours were circulated among the mob by way of rousing their fear and fury.

The King was incessantly urged to depart; his horses were put to; the clamour increased, and was kept up by the general fear lest M. de Bouillé should put in an appearance. In vain did the Queen show her sleeping children, and point out the need they had of rest; no arguments were of any avail; and from the room occupied by the royal family could be heard the horrid mob loudly demanding that they should depart.

After waiting at Varennes for eight mortal hours, we had neither sign nor news of the arrival of M. de Bouillé. The King, not perceiving any possible means of getting out of the clutches of the mob, which we could see was increasing, came to the conclusion that he could no longer defer his departure, and he made up his mind to return to Paris. Before starting, he embraced the officers who had never left him, and he commended them to the care of the authorities of Varennes; but we had scarcely got

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into the carriage when we heard a shout of "Arrest Choiseul!" He was seized, together with MM. de Damas, de Florac, a captain in his regiment, and de Remie, the quarter-master, and they were taken to Verdun, where they were put in prison.

The carriage of his Majesty was escorted by the members of all the clubs in the neighbourhood, the National Guard, fifty sappers, and a hundred and fifty dragoons of that same regiment of Monsieur which had refused to obey the orders of its colonel, who displayed their patriotism by shouts of "Long live the Nation and the National Assembly!" These shouts, repeated by the crowd, were soon lost to us, owing to the rate at which the carriage sped on its journey, in order as quickly as possible to get out of the way of the troops who, so it was supposed, were sure to speedily reach this wretched town of Varennes.

M. de Bouillé reached the high ground overhanging the town just as the King had left it; and he had the unhappiness of seeing the carriage drive away, surrounded by its gruesome escort. The sinister disposition of the district and the troops, added to the fury of the leaders of the mob, made him fear for the lives of the King and the royal family, if he attempted to rescue them. He therefore withdrew, overcome with grief, and he left France at once, having no doubt in his own mind of the fate that was in store for him if he remained.

It is impossible to give any idea of the sufferings

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of the royal family during this unfortunate journey—sufferings both moral and physical: they were spared nothing. In places where we were obliged to drive slowly, shouts of "Long live the Nation and the National Assembly!" resounded in our ears, and were redoubled at every village through which we passed. The mayors of the towns, in presenting the keys to his Majesty, allowed themselves to reproach him bitterly about his departure from Paris; and the manner in which they paid their homage was a fresh insult.

When the King was driving along a raised road between Clermont and Sainte Menehould, we heard firing, and saw a number of the National Guard running in the fields. The King asked what was going on. "Nothing," was the reply; "they are only killing a lunatic." And shortly afterwards we learnt that the victim was M. de Dampierre, a gentleman of Clermont, and brother of the actual Bishop of Clermont, the eagerness of whose endeavour to get near the carriage of his Majesty had rendered him an object of suspicion to the National Guard. The King and Queen, as may well be imagined, were greatly shocked, and their sorrow was increased by the thought of the dangers incurred by those whose attachment to them and their family was notorious.[1]

[1] A very noble motive induced M. de Dampierre to expose himself to the dangers which cost him his life. He wished to prove to the King that the nation was far from sharing the sentiments of the wretches who surrounded his carriage, and that his misfortunes made no difference in the feelings of his faithful subjects, who were ever ready to sacrifice themselves for him, and so to prove to him their respect and attachment.

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The people who surrounded the carriage of the King made remarks to their Majesties with insolent familiarity whenever it pleased them, and replied to their questions with revolting vulgarity. The kindness with which the royal family treated them, and the patience with which they bore the heat and the dust, which were excessive, but only appeared to be felt by them in relation to the sufferings of the young Prince and Princess, would have made an impression on less hardened hearts; but they had only one feeling—that of rejoicing over the abasement of the royal family, and their own triumph. It was happiness to them to overwhelm their unfortunate Sovereign with chagrin.

We stopped at Sainte Menehould for dinner, and the King was obliged to give ear to the remonstrances of the president of the district of that town, who, at the head of its members, forgot himself so far as to reproach the King bitterly because by leaving France he would be handing himself over to foreigners. The King contradicted him mildly, assuring them that the people had been misled as to his real intentions, and that he had in view only the welfare of his people, who had ever been the constant object of his care. The dinner was short, and the King hastened to leave the place, so as to reach Châlons, where he intended to sleep, and which he knew to be very differently disposed towards him.

The town of Châlons was far from sharing the sentiments of the places through which the King

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had just passed; the inhabitants saw with grief the sad situation of the royal family. Their respectful countenances, and the sorrow depicted on their faces, clearly showed the feelings they dared not express. The reception they gave the King, and the speeches of the constituted authorities, gave evidence of their sentiments.

The royal family were housed in what was formerly the Intendance, and were there received with the honours due to royal Majesty. It was the very same house in which the Queen had been received on her arrival in France, with so much pomp, and amid acclamations and repeated shouts of "Long live the King and Madame la Dauphine." There were still persons there who had seen her reception, and who burst into tears as they contrasted it with the present state of things. The Queen bore it with her usual courage, and even derived some consolation from the sentiments which were expressed in regard to her in the town. Young girls brought her flowers, several of them were eager to wait on her, and everybody around her showed her how deep an interest was taken in her misfortunes. The authorities of the town secretly informed the King of the sorrow they felt at not being able to rescue him. Several persons even offered to save him during the night, but him alone, as few people would be able to recognise him, and they showed him a secret staircase in the room occupied by Mgr. the Dauphin, which it was impossible for anybody to discover who

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did not know the secret. The King, frightened at the dangers that might befall the Queen and the royal family in the event of his escape, declined this offer, which he acknowledged with profound gratitude.

The royal family would have preferred, under the pretext of waiting at Châlons for the Commissioners, to rest awhile in that town, for they stood in urgent need of repose; but there was no way of accomplishing this design. The miscreants who accompanied the carriage, alarmed by the sentiments they noticed among the inhabitants of Châlons, sent that evening to Reims to recruit a band of ruffians from among the clubs and in the town, for the purpose of forming a battalion to reinforce themselves, and to awe the inhabitants. This dreadful detachment arrived at Châlons at ten o'clock in the morning, and announced its arrival by shouts and vociferations. It was the feast of Corpus Christi, and the King was at the time at mass. A considerable number of them, entering the house, forced the priest to leave off saying mass—he was at the *sanctus*—to prepare breakfast at once, and put the horses to the carriage of his Majesty. The King, fearing that any resistance would provoke a riot in the town, consented to leave at once. He secretly acknowledged to those about him how touched he was by their feelings towards him, assuring them that his only reason for leaving Châlons so hurriedly was that they might not run any risk of being exposed to a per-

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secution which would be deeply distressing to his paternal heart.

The soldiers of this terrifying battalion, who followed the carriage of the King, compelled it to go at a walking pace, and complained of the hunger they felt. The Queen, with her usual kindness, took some provisions out of her carriage and gave them to them. A voice from out the terrible band exclaimed, "Do not touch it, for it must be poisoned if it is offered to us." The King, indignant, ate some, and so did the children. They then followed his example, and this act of kindness mollified their ferocity to a certain extent.

We then reached Epernay, where we were awaited by a most excited and unbridled mob—the authorities, inhabitants, and the National Guard were all equally detestable. The mayor presented the keys of the town to the King. The president of the district, who accompanied him, allowed himself to utter the bitterest remonstrances to his Majesty, and he wound up his very insolent speech by saying that he ought to be grateful to the town for handing its keys to a fugitive King. The crowd, which thronged the courtyard and the house where the King was to dine, compelled him to alight at the door. It indulged in the most fearful remarks, and one of these monsters was heard to say to his neighbour,—"Hide me, so that I may fire on the Queen without anybody knowing where the shot comes from."

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I do not know what would have happened had it not been for the younger M. de Cazotte. He put himself at the head of the National Guard, which on the previous day had compelled its Commandant to withdraw; and he fortunately succeeded in moderating its fury, and holding it in check. His father, who lived in the neighbourhood of Epernay, knew the bad disposition of its inhabitants, and sent his son there with an injunction to do all in his power to hinder them from carrying out their fell designs, and to risk his life, if necessary, to save those of the royal family. He had no trouble in persuading him, these sentiments being deeply graven on his heart. He never left the mob for a moment, and by dint of tact and persuasion, he succeeded in keeping it in hand.[1]

[1] M. de Cazotte, the father of this youth, was an amiable man, a graceful writer, and so well known for his attachment to the King and the royal family that he was incarcerated in the Abbaye after the 10th of August, and was destined to be one of the victims of the projected massacre. The courage, presence of mind, and filial tenderness of Elizabeth Cazotte, his daughter, who was imprisoned with him, made such an impression on the assassins of the prison that they released them both. But, arrested afresh, two days after they emerged from the Abbaye, by order of the wretches who composed the tribunal of the 10th of August, they succumbed to the same fate that befel MM. de Bachmann and de la Porte, who were put to death in the Place de Carrousel, in front of the Tuileries. M. de Cazotte emigrated after the death of his father, served with distinction in the regiment of loyal *emigrés*, took part in the disastrous expedition of Quiberon and Île Dieu, and after continuous service in the army, did not return to France till 1802, after the disbanding of the regiment of artillery to which he belonged. Full of high-mindedness and honesty, inheriting the sentiments of his father, whose entire fortune had been confiscated, he had

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Madame Elizabeth, who knew him, seeing him at the head of all these miscreants, could not help saying to him,—"And you, too, Cazotte!" "I am only here," he replied, "to serve you, and it is essential that you should not appear to know me."

The dinner was painful. Nobody could eat amid the frightful noise made by the ever-increasing mob. M. de Cazotte, in spite of all his care, could not prevent the King from being compelled to leave his dinner to show himself to the mob, who shouted for him furiously. They then were seized with a regular panic, and insisted on the departure of the King, who was as eager to leave this horrible town as it was to get rid of him. In the midst of this din they conducted him to his carriage, obstructing my passage, and desirous of preventing me from getting in. If it had not been for M. de Cazotte, I should have remained in the clutches of these maniacs. But, seeing my difficulty, he warded off the pressure of the crowd, gave me his arm, and took me to the carriage, which he stopped in order to let me get in more easily.

Between Epernay and Dormans we were afraid we should witness the murder of a poor priest, tied

only a very modest income with which to bring up his numerous family. But, occupied solely with his duties, he enjoyed the esteem of all who were in a position to appreciate his good qualities and virtues. He told me afterwards that the National Guard of Epernay was driven away by the rioters, and that he was at the head of that of Pierry when he arrived at Epernay, and that being sure of the men under his command, he hoped to make good use of them.

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to the horse of a *gendarme*, who threatened him openly to such an extent that we dreaded lest he would kill him under the very eyes of his Majesty. At this moment the three Commissioners of the National Assembly arrived, stopped the carriage of the King, and presented their authority to him. They were MM. de Maubourg, Barnave, and Péthion. They were accompanied by M. Mathieu Dumas, entrusted by the Assembly with the command of the troops who were to escort the King back to Paris. The King entreated Barnave to save the life of the poor priest. He promised to do so, and kept his word, for he survived the Revolution, and only died shortly before the return of the King.

Their Majesties slept at Dormans. The Commissioners were polite. Barnave even consented to take charge of a letter for my family, and appeared touched by the trouble I was in about the anxiety to which they would be a prey. The noise in the town made it impossible to close one's eyes during the night. The shouts of "Long live the Nation and the National Assembly!" which began at daybreak, made such an impression on the mind of the little Dauphin that he thought he was in a forest with wolves, and that the Queen was in danger, and he awoke crying and sobbing. He could only be quieted by being taken to her Majesty; and when he saw that she was quite safe, he allowed himself to be put to bed again, and slept quietly until the moment of departure.

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M. de Maubourg behaved perfectly during the journey. He was very respectful when in the presence of the King, and told me to tell his Majesty that, although it was arranged that the Commissioners should travel successively in his carriage, he begged him to let MM. Péthion and Barnave be with him; that the sight of the royal family might make a favourable impression on them, from which some advantage might accrue; that this advice was dictated by his attachment to the King; and that he himself would ride with the women in the suite of the royal family, in order to protect their journey. The remarks of M. de Maubourg determined the King to confide to him that he was accompanied by three of the Body Guard, and to commend them to his good offices. He assured his Majesty that he might rely upon his defending them even at the peril of his life, and he fulfilled his promise. The female attendants of Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame, who, up to his arrival, had had much to put up with from the people who accompanied the carriage, finished their journey in peace, and were loud in their praises of his proceedings.

Various subjects were broached on the journey, and, among others, the departure of the King. Madame Elizabeth took it upon herself to justify the motives which led to it, and, addressing M. Barnave, she sketched out for his benefit, with admirable courage and wisdom, the conduct of the King, which she contrasted with that of the Assembly

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at the various stages of the Revolution. I will set down what I remember of their conversation, which lasted for an hour and a half. "I am very glad to be in a position to open my heart to you, and speak to you frankly about the Revolution. You are far too clear-sighted, Monsieur Barnave, not to have been at once aware of the love of the King for the French, and his desire to make them happy. Led astray by an excessive love of liberty, you only took its advantages into consideration, without giving a thought to the disadvantages that might accompany it. Your first successes intoxicated you, and have carried you far beyond the goal you originally proposed to reach. The opposition you encountered made you brace yourself up against difficulties, and caused you unreflectingly to break down every obstacle to your plans. You forgot that good works slowly, and that when we are anxious to reach our destination too quickly, we run the risk of losing our way. You persuaded yourself that by destroying everything that existed, good or bad, you would be constructing a perfect work, and that you would re-establish all that was worth preserving. Seduced by that idea, you have attacked all the foundations of royalty, and have overwhelmed with outrages and vexations the best of kings. All his efforts and sacrifices to bring you back to more healthy ideas have been useless, and you have never ceased to caluminate his intentions, and to vilify him in the eyes of his people, by depriving roy-

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alty of all the prerogatives which inspire respect and love.

"Torn from his palace and taken to Paris in the most unbecoming manner, his goodness has never failed. He held out his arms to his wandering children, and sought to come to some understanding with them to work for the good of that France he cherished, in spite of her mistakes. You forced him to sign an incomplete Constitution, although he pointed out to you that it would be much better that he should not give his sanction to any but a completed work, and you compelled him to present it thus to the nation in a federation the object of which was to attach the Departments to yourselves by isolating the King from the nation."

"Ah, Madame," replied Barnave quickly, "do not complain of that federation; we should have been lost, if you had known how to profit by it."

The royal family sighed, and Madame Elizabeth resumed the conversation.

"The King," she added, "in spite of the fresh insults to which he was subjected after this period, was still unable to resolve upon taking the step he has just taken. But, attacked in his principles, his family, and himself, and deeply distressed by the crime that was rife throughout France; perceiving general disorganisation in all parts of the Government; and conscious of the evils that resulted from all this, he determined to leave Paris and betake himself to a kingdom where, master of his own

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actions, he could induce the Assembly to revise its decrees and in concert with it could frame a Constitution which, by classifying the various powers and putting them in their proper places, would secure the happiness of France.

"I am not speaking of our private misfortunes; the King alone, who should be one with France, claims our attention. I will never leave him unless it be that, all liberty of worship having been taken away by your decrees, I am compelled to abandon him in order to betake myself to a country where freedom of conscience enables me to practise my religion, which to me is more than my life."

"Do not do that, Madame," replied Barnave; "your example and your presence are too useful to our country."

"I shall never think of it, except as I have already said: it would cost me too much to leave my brother when he is so unhappy. But such a motive cannot make any impression on you, Monsieur Barnave, seeing that you are reported to be a Protestant, and in all probability have no religion."

Barnave defended himself, pretending that he had been calumniated by having remarks attributed to him which were very far from representing his real feelings, especially, he said, that infamous remark supposed to have been made by him after the deaths of MM. Foulon and Berthier, "*Is this blood then so pure?*"

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I have only made a very brief analysis of this conversation, in which Madame Elizabeth retraced with admirable method each period of the Revolution, and each decree contrary to religion, to the essential prerogatives of royalty, to the order and tranquillity of the kingdom. Barnave replied to each count in the indictment slowly, and with extreme deliberation, so as to prevent himself from overstepping the limits imposed on him by the fear of compromising himself; but it was impossible for him to reply in a satisfactory manner to the forcible arguments of Madame Elizabeth, who spoke the language of truth to him with engaging eloquence and sorrow. Not a word nor a reflection escaped her which could in any way wound him or his colleague Péthion. Her speech made such an impression on Barnave that from that moment his conduct and his feelings changed. The Queen also spoke in the same sense, but Madame Elizabeth had so exhausted the subject that she could only fall back on the same arguments, which necessarily lessened the impression she might otherwise have produced.

Barnave was silent and respectful during the entire journey. Péthion, garrulous and insolent, asked Madame for something to drink whenever he was thirsty, with the most revolting familiarity. He was always talking of America, and the happiness of republics. "We well know," said the King to him, "your desire to establish one in France." "France is not yet ripe for that," he replied insolently, "and I

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shall not be fortunate enough to see one established during my lifetime."

The heat was excessive. The King, the royal family, and everybody in the carriage were covered with perspiration and dust. The severity of our sufferings made us experience some sort of consolation in reaching Ferté-sous-Jouarre, where we were to dine. Sieur Renard, mayor of this town, at whose house the King alighted, had seen beforehand to everything that might alleviate the position of the royal family during the short time they were to remain in his house. They found a neat room, refreshments, a simple but properly served dinner, and excellent people. The mayor's wife, not wishing, from motives of delicacy, to sit down to dinner with the royal family, dressed herself as a cook, and served the repast with equal zeal and respect. She and her husband were very much distressed by the state in which they saw the royal family. Burnt by the sun and covered with dust, they bore on their faces the impress of all their sufferings ; for, in order to complete the barbarity with which they were treated, they were not allowed to pull down the blinds of the carriage, into which the sun poured its rays, so that the mob, which was renewed every moment, might be allowed the pleasure of feasting its eyes on the spectacle of the King and his unfortunate family in the power of his subjects. As for the deputies, the mob overwhelmed them with blessings, invariably coupled with the inevitable

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refrain, "Long live the Nation and the National Assembly!"

The mayor of Ferté-sous-Jouarre sent word to the King that he dared not openly show him the feelings by which he was actuated; that he begged him to interpret them; that he was compelled to pay attention to the Commissioners of the Assembly, but that his heart was entirely with his King. This was the only spot along the entire route where the royal family had a moment's rest and quiet. The King asked the deputies to dine with him, but they declined the invitation, and dined together in another room.

We got into the carriage again at three o'clock. Barnave occupied the back seat of the carriage between the King and the Queen, who had the Dauphin on her knee. Madame Elizabeth, Péthion, and I occupied the front seat, the Princess and I taking it in turns to have Madame on our knees. The heat was still excessive. The dust raised by the people who surrounded the carriage on horseback and on foot, was as thick as the densest fog, and every breath of air was intercepted by the horse and foot soldiers, and by the crowd of inquisitive beings who pressed round the carriage.

In this way we reached Meaux. We slept at the house of the constitutional bishop, who received us as best he could. I can give no idea of the want of dignity exhibited by this bishop and his clergy. He was a good sort of man, and the King had

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nothing to complain of. As I was not well, I was shown into the room of the porteress of the bishopric, who took every care of me. "You see in me," she said to me, "a most unhappy being. I was deeply attached to Mgr. de Polignac, our old bishop; I remained here in order to try to save what belonged to him, and I am obliged to serve the wretched constitutional, whom I detest. Fortunately, he is not a bad man; but how different from our good bishop! Everybody respected him, but everybody makes fun of this one! Mon Dieu! how I feel for the troubles of my King! Tell him so, I beg of you."

We left Meaux on the 25th of June for Paris, where outrages of a fresh description awaited the royal family. When we arrived at Claye, a band of miscreants, who were supposed to entertain very sinister designs, wished to assume the exclusive conduct of the King. To avert the misfortunes which might result from such a proceeding, and which had been foreseen, two reliable battalions of the National Guard had been despatched from Paris to protect his return. They repulsed this horrible band, and took forcible possession of the carriage doors. For a moment we thought that a regular battle would be waged around us; but M. Dumas and his Commissioners supported the Paris battalions, which escorted the King for the remainder of the journey. They were on foot, and the carriage was obliged to go at a walk, to enable them to keep up with it. The heat was so great that several

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grenadiers were taken ill, and we were obliged to give them smelling-salts to revive them. During the journey from Meaux to Claye, Péthion, having noticed a friend of his named Kervelequen, made the carriage stop, while he wished him good-day. This man made a point of turning his back on the King, and keeping his hat on his head. Péthion remonstrated with him for this. "We neither salute nor look at a fugitive King," he replied insolently. Then putting his mouth close to Péthion's ear he said something to him in a low voice, and afterwards told the coachman to drive on.

At the barrier of Paris we found an immense crowd assembled on the road along which our unfortunate King had to pass. Everybody had his head covered, by order of M. de la Fayette, who had, moreover, enjoined the most absolute silence, in order, he said, to show the King the sentiments aroused by his journey. His orders were so strictly attended to that several hatless scullions covered their heads with their foul and dirty napkins.

When we reached the Place Louis XV., we were made to enter the Tuileries by the revolving bridge, in order to pass under the archway, where the officers of his Majesty awaited him. The National Guards surrounded him at once, and one of them took hold of Mgr. the Dauphin to carry him to his room. But as the child began to cry, on finding himself in strange hands, he was handed over to M. Hue, who took him to the King's apartments. An

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attempt was then made to seize the three members of the Body Guard who had accompanied the King; and in order to save them from the fury of the riotous mob round the Tuileries they were taken to the Abbaye, together with Mesdames de Neuville and Branger, who were in the carriage following their Majesties.

For its part, the Assembly had forgotten nothing which could conduce to the loss of the respect due to the King; and in this it was admirably seconded by the Commune of Paris. The latter had awarded civic crowns to Blanc and Mangin, who had stopped the carriage of their Majesties; and the Assembly, before which they appeared, made honourable mention of their behaviour as citizens and patriots.

Thouret proposed to dispense with the sanction of the King, and to confer the functions of the executive power on the Ministers, and under their responsibility. Roederer asserted that the inviolability of the King did not differ from that of the deputies, and that the only question for the time being was his being placed in temporary arrest. Malouet pointed out forcibly that to transfer all power to the Assembly would be to change the nature of the Government, and he declared that he would never vote that the King should be made a prisoner. The proposition was converted into a decree, and the executive power in the hands of the King was suspended. It was, moreover, decided that a guard should be allotted to him, as well as to the

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Queen and the heir presumptive to the crown—a title which had long since been substituted for that of Dauphin; and that this guard should be under the orders of the Commandant-General of the National Guard, who should watch over the safety of the royal family, and answer for their persons.

After lengthy debates relative to the evidence to be taken in regard to this disastrous journey, it was decided that three members of the Assembly should be appointed Commissioners to receive the declarations of the King and Queen, and that the persons who had accompanied their Majesties should be examined by the members of the tribunal of the first *arrondissement.*

Goupil took advantage of this circumstance to demand the disbanding of the four companies of the Body Guard, who were stated by M. Voidel to be far more attached to the King than to the nation; and in proof of this he mentioned the absence of M. de Bonnay on the day of the King's departure. M. de Bonnay protested courageously against the abuse levelled at these faithful Body Guards, and he added :—" I shall always look upon the King and the country as indivisible, and whithersoever I may be called in their service, I will go. If the King had consulted me in reference to his journey, I should have advised him against it; but if he had ordered me to follow him, I would have died by his side, and I should be honoured by dying in his defence." The Right of the Assembly applauded,

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the Left murmured, and the motion for the disbanding was converted into a decree.

The King and Queen, on reaching Paris, found in their apartments the officers chosen by M. de la Fayette to guard them and answer for their persons. Those of the King and Queen were MM. Guingerlot and Collot, chiefs of battalion; M. de la Colombe, aide-de-camp and particular friend of M. de la Fayette, and several captains whose names I did not know.

The two former, deeply attached to the King and the royal family, behaved in a manner to merit their confidence; and their Majesties, with the goodness that characterised them, showed how much they appreciated this. The King indeed very speedily gave them evidence of his good will, by placing M. de Guingerlot in the financial department, and M. Collot in his constitutional guard.

Mgr. the Dauphin had as his guardians MM. le Hoc and du Vergier, chiefs of battalion, the same M. de la Colombe, who was transferred from him to the Queen, and Captains Coroller, Mathis, and a third whose name I have forgotten. M. de la Colombe had a pliable and insinuating disposition, and he took great pleasure in making a parade of the authority entrusted to him. M. le Hoc was clever and well educated, but ambitious. Having no fixed principles, he always sided with the strongest party. Du Vergier, a jeweller by profession, was gloomy and insincere, and a professed

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Jacobin, as were also MM. Mathis, Coroller, and the one whose name I have forgotten. This latter individual was, moreover, garrulous, badly brought up, and very ill-bred.

Madame Elizabeth and Madame were the only ones who were not placed in arrest, and they consequently had no guard.

Among the captains in attendance on the Queen, there was one whose conduct was so insolent as to be almost past belief. One evening when her Majesty was not well and had gone to bed early, he entered her room, the doors of which remained open, and told Madame Jarjage, her first Lady of the Bedchamber, that she must retire. "You are not aware, perhaps, Monsieur," she said to him, "that the Queen is never left alone in her room at night unless the King comes there?" He paid no attention to her, but approached her Majesty's bed, put his elbow on her pillow, and ordered Madame Jarjage to leave the room. "Violence alone will turn me out," said she, "and even then I shall shout for help." She spent the night by the side of the Queen without going to bed, and on her making a complaint about the conduct of this officer, he was forbidden to enter the apartments of the Queen. He was a great mesmerist and a professed *illuminé* affecting, like the rest of his sect, intense meditation when he went to church. One day he wanted to persuade me to increase the number of his sect, assuring me that by so doing I should enjoy great

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happiness, and especially that of holding conversation with the Holy Virgin. My reply to such an invitation may easily be imagined.

I was afterwards informed of his misconduct, and I was very much surprised to see him come into the Castle again after so indecent a scene. But M. de la Fayette dared not forbid him to return, for fear of injuring his popularity, which he fostered by the most ridiculous means. He caused all the rooms occupied by the King, the Queen, and Mgr. the Dauphin to be examined with much ceremony and the minutest care, and he even sent the chimney sweeps to see if the royal family could escape by the chimney. All the doors leading out of the room occupied by the Dauphin, even that which communicated with the King's room, were double locked, and the keys were in the pockets of his officers. A sentry was placed on each staircase inside the Castle, chairs being placed beside them to prevent them from being tired; he carried this attention so far as to make provision for their slightest needs, even at the expense of decency. This curious and singular invention was put in practice even on the landing of the staircase leading to Madame's rooms, which was the one by which she went to the Queen, all other modes of communication being forbidden.

I fully expected to share the fate of Mesdames de Neuville and Branger, but the kindness of the Queen saved me. She begged the Duchess de Luynes to make use of every means with her friends in the

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Assembly to allow me to remain in the Tuileries, the state of my health being alleged as the reason. For two days she was hopeless of success, after which she told me I might make my mind easy, as I was to remain secretly in the Dauphin's room, guarded by the officers of the National Guard, who would be relieved every twenty-four hours, and would never leave me day or night. This precaution was quite superfluous, as the room had no other exit than through the bedroom of the young Prince, where there were, day and night, two officers of the National Guard; but it suited M. de la Fayette, who loved to make a parade of his extreme watchfulness.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE YEAR 1791.

Declarations required from the King and Queen relative to the journey to Varennes—Ministers obtain a disavowal of his protest on leaving Paris—Letter of M. de Bouillé to the Assembly—Deliberation of the Committees relative to the King and the Government to be established in France—Protest of the Right against the acts attacking the royal authority—Means adopted to inflame the people—Decree to compel the Prince de Condé and the other *emigrés* to return to France—Another decree relative to the persons who accompanied the King, and suspension of the royal functions until the acceptance of the Constitution—Proceedings of the King of Spain and other European Princes—Letter of M. Montmorin to the Ambassadors and Ministers at the various Courts—Abolition of titles and decorations—Proceedings of the two parties to induce the King to accept or to refuse the Constitution—Letters of the Princes in support of the refusal—The King accepts the Constitution, and goes in person to declare it to the Assembly—Decree winding up the session.

MM. TROCHET, Duport, and d'André, appointed Commissioners to receive the declarations of the King and Queen, went to the King on Sunday, the 26th of June, the day following his arrival, at eight o'clock in the evening. His Majesty stated to them positively that he had no intention of submitting to any examination, and that he merely proposed to make a declaration.

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He gave as his motives for leaving Paris the threats and outrages against himself and the royal family on the 18th of April, the provocations in the direction of the renewal of such violence, and his want of personal safety in a city where he was exposed to such cruel insults. He added that he had never had any intention of leaving France. As a proof of this, he pointed to the residence he had caused to be prepared for himself and his family at Montmédy, which he had chosen for the express purpose of being in a position to oppose every kind of invasion of France, and to betake himself whithersoever danger might threaten. Finally, he alleged as another motive for his departure, the necessity of putting an end to the assertion that he was deprived of his personal liberty, which might have been a cause of trouble, adding the assurance that he always entertained the desire of returning to Paris, a desire proved by the last sentence in his address to the French people, wherein he expressed himself thus:—"Frenchmen, and especially you Parisians, how pleased I shall be to find myself once more among you!"

His Majesty added that Monsieur had only been informed shortly before the journey; that he had only left France because it was arranged that he should not follow the same *route* for fear of falling short of horses; that he was to rejoin him at once at whatever place he might select as his residence; and that in regard to the persons who had accompanied him, they had only been informed of his

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departure at the last moment. He concluded his declaration by saying that, having on his journey perceived that public opinion was very decided in favour of the Constitution, he was more and more convinced of the necessity of strengthening the powers established for the maintenance of public tranquillity; that in view of this general desire, he had not hesitated to sacrifice every personal consideration to assure the happiness of the people, the constant object of all his care; that the reason which had made him consent to return to Paris was the fear of exposing the kingdom to the evils which his resistance might have occasioned; that he would readily forget all the disagreeable experiences through which he had passed, if by so doing he could assure the peace and tranquillity of the nation; and that the Queen shared these sentiments.

Her Majesty, who was in her bath when the Commissioners left the presence of the King, postponed her reception of them until eleven o'clock on the following morning.

She stated that as the King was bound to leave Paris, no human power could have prevented her from accompanying him; that the assurance he had given her that he would not leave France had only strengthened her in this resolution; but that if he had shown her any desire to leave it, she would have done her utmost to dissuade him from it.

She assured the Commissioners that, as I had been ill for three weeks, I had only been made

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acquainted with the proposed journey a very short time previous to its taking place, and that, as I had not been able to take anything away with me, she had lent me all I needed; and that the couriers knew neither the object nor the destination of the journey. She repeated the assurances of the King relative to their residence at Montmédy, adding that she went out through the door of the apartments of M. de Villequier.

The moment selected by the King to leave Paris was not a favourable one. France was beginning to be tired of the National Assembly, which was daily suffering in public opinion. The King had everything to gain in allowing this opinion to spread. But once having made up his mind to leave Paris, he ought to have stood his ground, and to have refused to yield to the pressure of his Ministers that he should disavow the protest he sent to the Assembly when he left. These latter individuals, alarmed by the state of the public mind, and the manner in which the people were being excited, put in the foreground the misfortunes by which France was threatened in case the King persisted in standing by his protest, and in this way they succeeded in procuring his disavowal.

M. de Bouillé, who was deeply distressed by the arrest of the King, and feared for the lives of his Majesty and the royal family, endeavoured to diminish the rage of the Assembly, and divert it to himself, by writing a letter which was fully

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calculated to make an impression on minds less excited and more capable of listening to reason. In it he declared that only in accordance with his repeated requests had the King determined to leave Paris; that he alone had given the orders relative to the journey, and for his escort to Montmédy; and that it was only in consequence of the outrages to which his Majesty had been subject on the occasion of his journey to Saint Cloud that he had decided upon taking up his abode in a town where he could act as a mediator between the Assembly and foreign Powers who were alarmed by the proceedings of the Revolution.

He depicted in the strongest colours the situation in which the Assembly had placed France, which would have been saved if the journey of the King had succeeded, and he threatened it with the vengeance of foreign Powers, adding that he himself would put himself at the head of the armies of France, if a single hair of the heads of the King and the royal family fell.

This letter did not produce any effect. The Assembly, intoxicated with its success and all the letters of congratulation it received from all the clubs of the kingdom, continued none the less to attack the person of the King in the most violent speeches, the tendency of which was to provoke his deposition, so that he might afterwards be placed on his trial.

The Committees entrusted with the report of the journey to Varennes, and the steps to be taken re-

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lative to the King and the future form of government, hesitated for a long time before publishing their conclusions. M. de Montesquiou, forgetting all he owed to the King and the royal family, joined the rebels, and demanded that the Assembly should take possession of the functions of royalty. "Seeing that the executive power inspires," he said, "as much distrust as the Assembly inspires confidence, the public safety must not be sacrificed to a superstitious respect for the distinction of powers;" and he supported all the arguments that Thouret, Chapelier, and others had brought forward to prove that the journey of the King was an infraction of the Constitution.

M. de Liancourt, on the contrary, spoke very forcibly on the danger of deposing the King, refuting all the arguments adduced in justification of the necessity for such a step, and on this occasion he behaved admirably.

M. de la Fayette thought only of himself, and worked secretly in favour of the views of the rebels. He held several conferences at his own house, at which he advocated the trial of the King, hoping in that way to hasten the establishment of a Republic, the constant object of his every wish. He aspired to play the part of Washington, not taking into consideration the difference between France and America, nor the very slight resemblance between himself and the man he had the pretention to imitate. Barnave stoutly opposed the proposal to put the King on his

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trial, and M. de Gilliers threatened and frightened M. de la Fayette to such an extent in regard to the risks he would run if he succeeded in his project, that he became, although with difficulty, a supporter of the preservation of royalty in the person of the King, and subsequently even upheld this opinion with a tolerable show of firmness. I received this account from M. de Virieu, a deputy, who had it from M. de Gilliers himself, and who repeated it to me more than once, both before and after the acceptance of the Constitution in 1791.

Several members of the Assembly proposed to appoint a governor for Mgr. the Dauphin, and to order that a list of the persons considered suitable for the office should be submitted to him. M. Malouet and several others strongly opposed so revolting a measure as that of depriving a father of all power over his child; but the Assembly paid no attention to the arguments against such a proposal, and it was at once adopted.

Several days afterwards a list was sent to the *bureau* of the Assembly of eighty persons of every profession and condition who were proposed as governors of Mgr. the Dauphin. It was so peculiarly made up that the ridiculous nature of the proposal was evident, and in the end it dropped through.

The deputies of the Right, indignant at the conduct of the Assembly, protested in writing, all of them attaching their signatures, against the decrees attacking the royal authority, declaring that

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they would limit themselves to being present at the deliberations of the Assembly, without taking part in any but those which had for their object the defence of the interests of the royal family, a defence confided to them by their constituents, and which they would glory in maintaining to the utmost of their power.

These two hundred and ninety deputies demanded the reading of the declaration of their protest relative to the decrees which had been passed; but the Assembly, dreading the impression that might be produced, refused its assent, and they were compelled to be content with laying it on the table, whence the Assembly promptly withdrew it.

For a fortnight I was confined in the private room of Mgr. the Dauphin, and only after I had been examined was I allowed to speak to a few persons. The Queen and Madame Elizabeth, full of goodness, always found means to say a word or two to me, and to slip a note into my hands as they passed through the room on their way to mass. In that way I received information of the declarations of the King and Queen, and of everything that it was interesting to me to know. Afterwards I was allowed to read the *Moniteur*, which kept me informed of what went on in the Assembly. My only consolation during this time was the permission granted me to hear the King's mass, which was said every day in the Diana gallery, where I saw, with the royal family, my relatives and friends,

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who never failed to be present. The men had leave to see the King at that hour, but he only admitted a small number, in order to avoid giving offence to his guard around him.

The Duke de Brissac was the only one who had permission to accompany the King. Having taken no part in the journey to Varennes, he was not banished from his presence, and it was a great comfort to his Majesty to have near him so faithful and devoted a subject, whose noble and heroic conduct was maintained to his latest breath.

Mass was no longer said in the chapel of the Castle. The Abbé d'Avaux, as living in the Tuileries, had permission to celebrate it on Sundays, and he never failed to do so, nor did he ever leave off his ecclesiastical dress. Several persons, alarmed at the position in which he was, advised him to leave it off; but he replied that he should retain this exterior sign of his attachment to his calling as long as possible, and that he regarded it as a duty at a time when so much indecent remark was indulged in against ecclesiastics. Nobody ever said anything against him. His conduct had won for him universal esteem, and his politeness and kind manner in regard to the National Guard secured their friendship, as was proved on several critical occasions.

All sorts of methods were employed to excite the people. The streets were placarded with the most vulgar caricatures; the ballad-singers sang the most indecent songs against the Queen; at

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every corner the most bloodthirsty satires against her and the King were sold, and in the public places orators uttered the most atrocious lies. All these horrors were allowed to go unpunished, and suited the views of the rebels, as being calculated to deprive the people of their remnant of respect for the King and the royal family.

People were posted on the quay of the Tuileries to shout out, "Long live our little King!" whenever Mgr. the Dauphin went on the terrace, and his walks there had to be stopped. The poor little Prince was amused by these cries, of whose import he was ignorant; for the people around him, half dead with fear, dared not make any remark to him. It was not until the Abbé d'Avaux and I were able to see him that we made him see all the horror which these shouts ought to have inspired in him, and how great ought to be his distrust of everything that might be said to him in opposition to the respect and attachment he ought to feel for the King and Queen.

Their Majesties, unwilling to expose themselves as prisoners to the gaze of the National Guard, and the insults of a misguided populace, never left their rooms, and would not even walk in the little garden allotted to Mgr. the Dauphin. The uncertainty of their lot, the sinister disposition evinced by the public, and the inconvenience caused by the oppressive heat, all united to augment the horror and disagreeableness of their position. They had need

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of all their courage to enable them to bear it with the calmness and dignity which never left them for a moment in these critical circumstances.

Madame Elizabeth also was unwilling, out of respect for the situation of the King, to go outside the Castle. This angelic Princess was their consolation during their captivity, her attention to the King, the Queen, and their children ever increasing in proportion to their misfortunes. She and the Queen made the King play billiards every day after dinner, so that he might get some exercise. He spent the rest of his time shut up in his private office, reading and working; for he was never idle for a moment, and he was very deeply read. The Queen occupied herself with her children; at seven o'clock in the evening saw her ladies, even those who had resigned; and she spent the remainder of the day in reading, writing, and working.

The sole relaxation of the royal family was their meeting together, and when they watched the innocent amusements of the young Prince and Madame. During the early days of their return to Paris they gave themselves some degree of pleasure in watching the passing and repassing under their windows of the deputies of the Right, who saluted them with an expression of grief and respect which affected them sensibly. But the Assembly took offence at this, and closed the Tuileries even against the deputies, so as to deprive the King even of this slight satisfaction.

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In spite of the violence of its declamations, the Assembly could not help being afraid of an invasion; and as this fear augmented its fury against the *emigrés*, a resolution was moved to compel them to return within two months, under pain of having their property sequestered. The injustice of such a law was so strongly represented that action for the moment was limited to the imposition of a triple tax on those who should not have returned by the end of that period, the right being reserved of inflicting very severe penalties in case of invasion. M. du Verrier, who had been despatched by the Assembly to the Prince de Condé to notify to him the sequestration of his property, unless he returned to France by a certain day, reassured it on his return, in regard to any fears it might have concerning foreign Powers; and he, as well as the other Commissioners who had been sent to the frontiers, stated that the energy of the French people, joined to the measures that had been taken, were a guarantee against all anxiety. M. du Verrier, an advocate by profession, was the same whom the Assembly had sent as Commissioner to Nancy during the revolt of the troops, in order to make inquiry into the line of conduct that had been pursued there. As his mission to the Prince de Condé coincided exactly with the moment of the departure of the King, there was a certain amount of uneasiness as to what might have befallen him; but he was only delayed to a certain extent, and re-

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turned in peace to report the scant success of his mission.

I was not examined until three weeks after the return of the King. An usher of the tribunal of the first *arrondissement* came for me to the apartments of Mgr. the Dauphin to conduct me to my own with the officer on guard there. I found M. Carrouge, president of the tribunal, accompanied by M. Mabille, and a clerk to take down my deposition. It was short, and in conformity with the declaration of the King and Queen. I was questioned as to the manner in which Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame left the Tuileries, and also as to the disguise of the young Prince.

I was asked who brought the King's carriage, and who met him at Varennes. My replies were simple and laconic. I was ill, I informed them, and the state of weakness in which I was prevented me from seeing anything. These gentlemen finished their examination at the expiration of an hour, and I was led back to the apartments of Mgr. the Dauphin, which served as a prison for me.

M. Carrouge behaved with equal straightforwardness and delicacy throughout this examination, and he thus concluded his questions:—"You cannot possibly have known, Madame, what an examination is. It is necessary that you should be aware of your rights, and that you should know that you may correct anything you have said, so long as you have not signed your deposition." I took advantage of

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this hint to change one little circumstance which, although trivial in itself, might have been wrongly interpreted; and when I left these gentlemen I could not help telling them that, however painful my present position might be, I should never reproach myself with the conduct which honour had prescribed for me, and which gave me a right to their esteem, even though they dare not say as much, in view of the duties they were performing.

I expected, as I passed through the guard-room, preceded by an usher, to hear some unpleasant remarks. I assumed a more confident air than the state of my feelings warranted, as I was far from expecting either justice or consideration in connection with this examination; but I owe it to truth to state that the most profound silence reigned both as I went and as I returned through this room on my way from and to the apartments of Mgr. the Dauphin.

On the 13th of July, the day when the Committee was to make its report on the journey to Varennes, an unknown individual presented a memorial to the Assembly, which he also caused to be circulated throughout Paris, in which he recapitulated all that the King had done since his accession to the throne for the happiness of the nation and for the city of Paris. He mentioned in it the guarantee of the debt contracted under the reigns of his predecessors; the emancipation of the serfs; the establishment of provincial Assemblies; the abolition of

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statute labour, and of the rack; the amelioration of the laws against desertion, fraud, and violence excluded from enlistment; the civil status restored to the Protestants; the protection of arts and sciences; the draining of marshes; the restoration of the Navy, and the rights of fishing in Newfoundland; an honourable peace in 1782; the public works at Dunkerque, Havre, La Rochelle, Toulon, and the port of Vendres; the canals in Burgundy, Picardy, and Le Berry; the double representation granted to the third estate; and he concluded by pointing out the well-known goodness of the King in always having exposed his person for the purpose of re-establishing peace, and preventing the shedding of the blood of his subjects.

It is impossible to help groaning over the perversity of the human race when one sees so many benefits requited by the blackest ingratitude, and crowned by a heinous crime, not to be thought of without a shudder, from which one seeks to turn one's eyes for the honour of the nation.

In accordance with the report of the seven united Committees, the Assembly decreed, on the 15th of July, that there were grounds of accusation against MM. de Bouillé, father and son, the authors of the plan for the removal of the King, and that their trial should be initiated and completed before the High National Court sitting at Orleans; and that there were also grounds of accusation, as accomplices in the plan, against MM. Heymann, Gliuglin, d'Offelyse, Disoteur,

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Guogelas, Choiseul, Stainville, Maudelle, Fersen, du Moutier, Valori, and Maldan, who were ordered to be taken under sufficient escort to Orleans, there to be judged by the High National Court; that MM. de Damas, d'Audouin, Valecourt, Marassin, Talon, de Florac, Rémy, and Lacour, as well as M. de Briges[1] and myself, should remain under arrest until after the examinations had been held, so that a decision might then be arrived at in regard to our fate; and that Mesdames Branger and de Neuville should be set at liberty.

The debate relative to the person of the King was continued. Péthion, Vadier, Robespierre, Buzot, and Rewbell indulged in the most frightful remarks against his Majesty. They wished to put him on his trial, and for that purpose proposed the establishment of a National Convention. Goupil and several other deputies represented that such a measure would involve a recommencement of the Revolution, would bring about the most serious consequences, and would mean the destruction of the Constitution. Pragnan backed up their opinion with very weighty arguments, insisting on the necessity of a Monarchical Government for France; and the Assembly on

[1] M. de Briges left Paris as soon as he heard of the departure of the King, and having received certain intimations which led him to believe that his Majesty had taken the road to Châlons, he reached that town just as M. de Romeuf entered it. He was arrested there, and only left after the acceptance of the Constitution. He was one of the most faithful servants of the King, and perished in the disastrous expedition to Quiberon in 1795.

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the following day decreed that the suspension of the executive power and the royal functions in the hands of the King, decreed on the 25th of June, should remain in force until, the Constitution being completed, the Constitutional Act should be presented for the acceptance of his Majesty; that if the King, after having taken the oath to the Constitution, should retract it, he should be held to have abdicated; that he should also be so considered if he should put himself at the head of an army against the nation, or if he should give any such order to one of his generals, or if he should not formally oppose any such step; that a king who abdicated should become a simple citizen, and should be liable to prosecution for all offences subsequent to his abdication.

The Jacobins complained bitterly of this decree. They wanted the deposition of the King and his being placed on his trial; and they pretended that as the Assembly had not named Louis XVI. in the decree, it had no value, so far as he was concerned. They therefore proposed to send an address to all the popular societies of the kingdom, in order to ascertain the wish of the nation; to secure ten million signatures to it, and then to present it to the Assembly, which would not in that case be left in doubt. Robespierre, on the other hand, advised a simple declaration that the King had lost the confidence of the nation. The contradictions inherent in all these propositions prevented any resolution

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being arrived at, but they exasperated the public mind to such an extent that four thousand miscreants started from the Palais Royal, and went to their club, to announce their intention of going to the Champ de Mars to swear never to recognise Louis XVI. as their King, and to demand vengeance on him for his crimes against society. Laclos took charge of the framing of the petition which they proposed to take with them for the purpose of having it signed by all good citizens.

A portion of the members of the Jacobin Club, who were in favour of the Monarchical Constitution as decreed by the Assembly, were opposed to this project, seceded from their comrades, withdrew to the Feuillants, and founded a new club there, under the name of the Club des Feuillants. The Jacobins vowed implacable hatred against the members of this club, and in the end brought about the destruction of all those whom they were able to arrest.

The most inflammatory placards increased day by day, and the Cordeliers Club carried its audacity so far as to post up a notice that it had among its members a secret society of tyrannicides who had sworn to kill everybody who attacked French liberty. D'André, who had seceded from the Jacobins and joined the Feuillants, complained in unmeasured terms of the conduct of the former, who only wanted the destruction of the Constitution ; and he proposed to send the Minister of Justice at once, together with the six Public Prosecutors and the

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Municipality, to intimate to them the existence of an order for the arrest of all disturbers of the public peace, and in case of resistance, to proclaim martial law.

There was no time to lose. On the following day, the 17th of July, sixteen thousand men of the dregs of the people, among whom several foreigners were recognised, assembled riotously in the Champ de Mars, and endeavoured to induce the people to revolt. They massacred two men at Gros-Caillou, accusing them of having wanted to blow up the altar of the country; and they were preparing to carry their heads on the ends of pikes when the Municipality, with M. Bailly at its head, arrived. He employed every means of persuasion with the crowd, read to them the decree of the Assembly, and uttered so many regrets at being forced to take rigorous measures, that he emboldened the rebels. The Municipality pushed its complacence towards the mob so far as to accuse the priests and nobility of having provoked the rising, and it spent the greater portion of the day in temporising. But when the National Guard on its arrival was attacked with stones, M. Bailly, after proclaiming martial law, ordered the rebels to be fired upon, and some twelve or fifteen of them were killed, and a like number wounded. Fear then took the place of arrogance, and they all ran away. Some of them were arrested, and order was re-established for a short time. Among those arrested was an Italian named Rotondo, an execrable man, whose arrival always heralded

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some catastrophe, and who was justly called an agent of crime. They were all put in prison, and were not released until the general amnesty which, confounding crime and innocence, let loose on society all the miscreants who ought to have met with due punishment for their heinous offences. From this day the Jacobins vowed implacable hatred against MM. de la Fayette and Bailly; and the latter had a sad experience of what is to be gained by abandoning one's Sovereign to throw oneself into the arms of the popular party, whose victim in the end one is sure to be.

The idea of the rebels was to attack the Castle; but M. Gouvion, who was entrusted with its defence, assured the royal family that they had nothing to fear, he having taken all the necessary precautions for the fulfilment of his promise. He had conceived a very novel idea for the bloodless dispersion of the crowds who sought to force an entrance into the Tuileries; it was to station firemen at the exterior exits of the garden and the Castle, who would play with their engines on the rebels, and he believed he was safe in saying that such a measure would put them to flight in a moment. He had no need to put it into action. The fusillade at the Champ de Mars had inspired such terror that nobody moved, and the neighbourhood of the Castle was almost deserted.

Some days after my examination, M. de la Fayette sent word to me that I could see my relations and friends, and I made temperate use of this permission, which was a great comfort to me. I received them

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in the private room of Mgr. the Dauphin, which I had not yet permission to leave. MM. Banks and du Foë, my guardians, retired, as soon as they saw them arrive, to the next room, the door of which I left open, so as not to compromise them. I must do them the justice to say that they behaved very well to me, and that I never heard them make any but the kindest remarks about the royal family, to whom they piqued themselves on being very much attached. M. Banks, who was sixty years of age, detested the Revolution, and was deeply grieved by its success; but being by nature very pacific, he feared everything that might disturb his tranquillity, and he attached great importance to the observance of the Constitution, which he looked upon as the anchor of the safety of France. M. du Foë, who was young, lively, and brave, but very excitable, was susceptible of every impression that might be brought to bear upon him. He was continually changing his party, and ended by conducting himself in a manner about which I forbear to speak, out of consideration to his behaviour to me.

The Abbé d'Avaux and Madame de Tarente, summoned to the Castle by the duties of their posts, spent whole hours with me in the course of the day. Their society lessened the bitterness of my position, and I shall never forget all the marks of attachment I received from them. The latter gave me news of the royal family, and paid me every possible attention. The similarity of our sentiments

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bound us together in very tender friendship. Death alone had power to break it, but even it has not been able to efface from my heart the sentiments which that faithful friend inspired in it, any more than the recollection of her noble and beautiful disposition, which won for her the esteem of all who knew her, and the most tender attachment of those friends who were in a position to appreciate her.

By degrees the irksomeness of my position was lessened. First of all, my guardians were relieved from passing the night in my room, and I was afterwards allowed to walk in the Tuileries. Nothing could have been more melancholy than this promenade, during which, accompanied by one of my guardians, I only met the men of the National Guard. One must have had need, as I had, of fresh air, to profit by this permission. What gave me the greatest pleasure was the permission to go to all the members of the royal family, and especially Mgr. the Dauphin. My guardians conducted me to the door of the royal apartments, and remained in the adjoining room. I then was allowed, but never alone, to go to my own room, and have some of my friends to dinner. As our guardians behaved with delicacy and discretion, I asked those on guard to dinner, and they greatly appreciated this politeness.

An attempt was made to keep Mgr. the Dauphin away from me, as those who were with him were afraid of being compromised if he had only attempted

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to look at me as he passed through the room I occupied. When at length I was allowed to remain with him in his room, for I was expressly forbidden to accompany him out of it, I asked him why I had been deprived of my liberty. "Because," he said, in a very low voice, "you followed papa." "Is it then in your eyes a very criminal action to have given the King some token of my respect, my attachment, and my personal devotion to him? Tell me, please, by what name am I to describe your conduct, and what do you think your dear Pauline, of whom you speak so frequently, will say to it?" He blushed, and threw himself into my arms, saying, "Forgive me, I have been very wrong; but do not tell my dear Pauline, or she will not love me any more." I promised him, and from that moment the amiable child was full of every kind of care and attention for me, wishing, he said, to make me forget the wrong he had done me, for which he was so sorry. It is impossible to imagine any child more winning, more replete with intelligence, or expressing himself more gracefully. He grasped at every opportunity of saying something agreeable to those about him. He was very fond of the King; but as his Majesty rather impressed him, he was not so thoroughly at his ease with him as he was with the Queen, whom he adored, and to whom he gave vent to his feelings in a most touching manner, always finding something tender and loving to say to her. His gaiety and amiability were the only

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relaxation to the daily troubles by which the Queen was overwhelmed. She brought him up perfectly; and although she entertained the deepest affection for him, I must do her the justice to say that she never spoiled him, and that she always supported all just remonstrances addressed to him. He was fond of occupation, and even at his tender age study was such a pleasure to him that we were obliged to make him leave his lessons, in spite of his entreaties to be allowed to continue, as soon as we thought that any prolongation of them would tire him. He was, nevertheless, both very lively and very gay. He loved to run, jump, go down difficult places, and especially to go perpendicularly down somewhat deep ditches. He feared nothing, and we were frequently compelled to stop him in the little enterprises he wished to undertake by way of proving his strength and activity. Nothing inconvenienced him; and though his external appearance did not give any extraordinary idea of strength, he bore all sorts of fatigue singularly well. Alas! this excellent health prolonged the suffering inflicted upon him by the most atrocious barbarity. It resisted for a long time, and it was not until after much trial that it succumbed to the results of the frightful *régime* under which this illustrious and last victim of the most revolting tyranny groaned.

The Count de Fernand Nuñes, Ambassador of Spain, received from M. de Florida de Blanca, prin-

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cipal Minister of that Court, an order to hand to the Assembly the declaration of the King of Spain on hearing of the departure of the King, and he was forbidden to alter a word of it, notwithstanding the failure of the journey. This Prince exhorted the French nation to reflect upon the motives which had led to this proceeding on the part of the King; to retrace those steps which had caused it; to respect the august dignity of the King and the royal family; and to be persuaded that as long as the French nation should fulfil its duties, it would have no more faithful and constant ally than Spain.

The reading of this letter was followed by shouts of laughter. There were calls for the order of the day, and the majority of the Assembly declared that, as it did not mix itself up with the affairs of foreign Powers, it would not allow them to interfere in those of France. To this M. André added that as soon as the Assembly came to any determination as to the future government and the fate of the King, it would communicate it to Europe; that this determination would be as firm as a rock, and that they would all rather die than alter one tittle of it.

M. de Fernand Nuñes, whose disposition was mild and pacific, had adopted certain ideas entertained by the Constitutional party; and especially the opinion that, by temporising, the King would, without a struggle, recover a portion of the authority necessary for a King of a great nation. He perceived only too clearly how entirely he was mistaken

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in this, and events demonstrated in a very cruel manner the impossibility of any alliance between crime and virtue. Fear, the inseparable companion of crime, when allied to great ambition, rarely permits any belief in the generosity inspired by real virtue, and it prevents all return on the part of those who have strayed too far from the right path.

M. de Staël, Ambassador of the King of Sweden, received from that Prince a most energetic letter, forbidding him to hold any communication with anybody without the authorisation of the King; to hold any conference with the Minister of Foreign Affairs; or to reply in any way except verbally to anything that might be communicated to him, either by word of mouth or in writing; and he was instructed, even should matters turn out more fortunately for the King, to take nothing upon himself, but to wait for further orders. He, moreover, gave him a most positive and strict order to give the King every consolation in his power, by showing him both respect and attention, and to display in his household every sign of mourning and sorrow. He felt, said his Majesty, that such orders might cause him to incur a certain amount of danger, but he held by the dignity of the crown, and it was not possible for him to give any other instructions.

The other sovereigns appeared to be disturbed by the conduct of the King of Sweden, and this rendered the Assembly uneasy, and induced it to decree the levy of an army of four hundred thousand men. Out

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of the four commands to be given away, it only allotted one to the King, reserving the three other appointments to itself, a proceeding which naturally placed the army in its power. The amnesty granted by it to the soldiers and officers who had instigated regiments to revolt, completed the destruction of all idea of military discipline, and rendered the army capable of fulfilling its every wish.

While the Assembly was engaged upon framing the Constitution, it allowed the most seditious remarks and writings against the royal family to go unpunished. The decree for the suppression of the silver mark as a qualification for future Assemblies, opened the door to all those who, having nothing to lose and everything to gain, were bound to make capital out of the general exasperation, and to use every effort to arrive at power, even at the risk of covering France with blood and ruins.

The rage of the Assembly against everything which could furnish the most trivial reminiscence of the nobility, caused it to abolish all titles and decorations. It only permitted the King and his eldest son, as heir to the throne, to wear the blue ribbon, the sole order of Saint Louis being retained for the moment.

The King, in sanctioning this decree, left off wearing the blue ribbon; being unable, he said, to derive any pleasure from wearing a decoration which he could not share with those who were attached to him.

This Constitution, which, in default of its accept-

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ance by him, would reduce the King to the status of a private citizen, was so democratic, and left all authority so destitute of force and support, that it was impossible for it to subsist without overthrowing his throne from its very foundation. The Assembly, in order to allow foreign powers to share in its benefits, had the Declaration of the Rights of Man translated into every language, and circulated throughout the Courts of Europe.

In order to close its sessions in a manner worthy of their commencement, this disastrous Assembly decreed rewards not only to those who stopped the King, and compelled him to return to Paris, but also to the two individuals who had threatened to shoot him if he continued his journey.

To the town of Varennes was given the Franciscan Convent, for the purpose of establishing in it a district tribunal, and a detachment of cavalry with two guns. A tricolor flag was also sent, with this inscription :—"To the town of Varennes from a grateful country!" and a musket and a sword were presented to each member of the National Guard of the town.

The town of Clermont received a piece of ordnance and five hundred muskets for its National Guard; and Sainte Menehould was treated with similar liberality. Drouet, Sausse, and Baillon each received 30,000 francs. Everyone who had contributed to the arrest of the King received 3000 francs; others received rewards of smaller amounts, and proportionate to the part they had played in the cruel event.

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M. de Montmorin, uneasy in regard to the effect which the conduct of the Assembly might produce on the Emperor, wrote to the Marquis de Noailles, Ambassador at Vienna, directing him to make excuses for the part it had played in its very difficult position, having to fight against a party desirous of sapping the very foundation of the throne, and having run more than one danger in opposing this intention. He added that the Revolution was done, and could not be undone; that to expect the contrary was a mistake which might have disastrous results, and might drag Europe into dire misfortune; that the Constitution would be presented to the King for his acceptance in a few days; that his refusal would bring about great danger; that his Majesty was fully persuaded of this, and that anybody who sought to dissuade him would be giving him questionable help; that endeavours were being made to convince the Princes and *emigrés* of this truth; and that it was essential that the Emperor should not place the malevolent in a position to imagine that he entertained views opposed to the tranquillity of France.

M. de Montmorin allowed himself to be easily persuaded, and he was at this time under the influence of Thouret, Beaumetz, Chapelier, Barnave, and Duport, who was supposed to be the author of the letter. D'André, who had gained his confidence, and wanted to realise some profit for himself, whatever might be the direction taken by events, per-

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suaded him that, in order to be of real use to the King, his conduct should be in accord with that of the Assembly, and that on that account he ought to support all the motions of the majority, however unjust they might be. The conduct of M. Montmorin had for its sole object to serve the King. I never knew him to pay any attention to his personal interests; but, as he had but little energy and high-mindedness, and as his disposition was feeble and timid, loving ease and repose, he was invariably deceived by the revolutionists, who made use of him to drag the King into proceedings repugnant to the rectitude of his character and the justice of his mind. They terrified his Majesty with the dangers to which his family and faithful servants might be exposed, if he refused the measures proposed to him; and, knowing the attachment of M. de Montmorin, he regarded as a sign of a conciliatory spirit that weakness of character which shrank from the use of vigour and firmness by way of opposition to the proceedings of his enemies.

The Assembly was so quick over its revision of the Constitution that it had passed the principal clauses. It mattered little to it that it possessed the means of guaranteeing its stability against the enterprises of the rebels. Occupied solely with the abasement of the royal power, and the concentration of every power within the legislature, it was content to leave France with a mere shadow of royalty; and believing it to be essential that its work should

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be completed before the elections, it constantly refused to listen to any objection whatever from the rational portion of the Assembly, which, for its part, abstained from contributing in any way to this work of iniquity.

The demagogues were anxious that the King should refuse, in order that they might proclaim his deposition and the establishment of the Republic. The other members of the Left, who, on the contrary, wished for the acceptanee of the Constitution, employed every possible means to induce the King to accept. His Ministers alarmed him by dwelling upon the dangers which his refusal might bring upon France, his family, and those who had helped him on his journey. Everybody knew that he did not care in the least about his own personal safety.

The Right, alone truly attached to the King and the Monarchy, on the contrary firmly pointed out to him the actual risks which would result from his acceptance of the Constitution; risks which he would merely retard if he deferred to the wishes of those who only consulted their own interests in the advances they made to him; adding that he might judge of their intentions by the conduct they had pursued ever since the beginning of the Assembly, and by their eagerness to deprive him of the authority necessary to enable a king to secure the welfare and happiness of his people.

The Abbé Maury submitted to the King two lines of conduct; one, the absolute refusal of the

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Constitution, and the other, its acceptance, with the omission of its principal vices, which he pointed out, and which rendered it very dangerous of acceptance in the form in which it was presented. M. Malouet was in favour of the latter view, and displayed great energy before the Assembly, in spite of the unworthy manner in which he was treated by the Left every time he spoke. M. Bark, junr., who, like his father, had always taken great interest in the position of the King, wrote him a most touching and cogent letter to prove to him that he ought not to hesitate to refuse to accept. He entreated him to arm himself with courage, and to expose himself to everything rather than give his adhesion to decrees which consecrated injustice and contempt for every duty. He assured him that efficacious means of coming to his rescue were being considered; that his acceptance would upset all the steps that were being taken to re-establish him on his throne; that his courage would make itself felt, and would be appreciated by all Europe; and he concluded his letter with four lines which his father had sent him as more likely to be remembered by the King than a letter. The words were few,—"Say little; write nothing; consent to nothing; keep up your courage to the end; we are working for you."

Meanwhile the Ministers redoubled their efforts to alarm the King and make him look upon the loss of those who were in prison on account of the Varennes journey as absolutely certain. I was told of

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this, and also that, seeing that I was in a position analogous to theirs, it was my duty to ask the King to pay no attention to this consideration. I hesitated on account of those who were in prison at Orleans; but I was assured so confidently that they would be the first to desire such a step, that I decided to go to the King on the following day. I told his Majesty that though it was not in my province to mix myself up in matters of government or to forecast his intentions in regard to the acceptance of the Constitution, I thought it my duty to beg him, in my own name and in those of all who had helped him on his journey, to put out of his thoughts the idea that he would cause them to incur any danger by his refusal; and that I could answer for it that there was not one of us who would not willingly expose himself to any danger, in order to see him adopt the most honourable course, and that which would be most useful to his present and future safety.

"I am deeply touched," said his Majesty to me, "by your very generous proceeding; but I know what I owe to those who have sacrificed themselves for me." From that moment I had no longer any doubt about the acceptance of the Constitution, and I had to content myself with prayers that it might not land his Majesty in the misfortunes which were prophesied by those who advised him to refuse.

A few days afterwards, a deputation of the Assembly came to bring the Constitution to his Majesty,

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giving him ten days wherein to examine it, at the end of which he was to give a definite answer. As it would have been difficult to impart to this acceptance any appearance of liberty if his Majesty was allowed to remain in the state of captivity in which he had been since his return from Varennes, the officers entrusted with his custody were withdrawn, and the customary honours were paid to him. Consequently, on the following Sunday, he appeared at mass in the chapel of the Tuileries with the royal family. The people thronged to the spot, and evinced great joy at seeing him again. From all sides came the shout, "Long live the King!" A solitary voice from out the crowd added, "Yes, if he accepts the Constitution." It was impossible to entertain any doubt on that subject when he was seen to have the same confidence in his Ministers, of whom some through weakness, and others from more culpable motives, ardently longed for the acceptance of a Constitution the results of which were destined to be so disastrous.

The Princes, his Majesty's brothers, informed of the pressure brought to bear upon him to accept the Constitution, wrote him the strongest and most cogent letter to dissuade him. They pointed out to him that it fostered every crime, and attacked religion, and the rights of his subjects and of his Monarchy, of which it was destructive; that it was, moreover, impracticable; and that his Majesty would one day experience the most vivid regret if he allowed himself to be induced, at the suggestion of his Min-

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isters, to accept an act as opposed to the enlightenment of his mind as to the feelings of his heart.

They assured him that help would be forthcoming; and in order to prove to him that these were not mere words, they sent him a copy of the declaration of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, signed at Pilnitz, the original of which was in their hands. They concluded this letter by pointing out to him that as his Crown was hereditary to all the Princes of his line, he had no right to surrender its prerogatives; and they, Monsieur and the Count d'Artois, protested, both in their own names and in those of the Princes their children, against an acceptance dictated by violence, and diametrically opposed to the wish of the nation freely expressed in one of the Memoranda given to the various deputations to the States General. At the end of this protest they renewed the assurances of their most profound respect for his Majesty, and their very sincere attachment to the person of their Sovereign and brother, to whose arms they would fly in all haste to renew the homage of their obedience, and to furnish an example to his Majesty's subjects.

The Princes of the house of Condé also wrote him a most submissive, but at the same time a very noble letter, to remind him of their rights, and to protest against any attack on those of the Monarchy, which they would defend to the last drop of their blood.

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Ministers represented to the King that the Princes were not in a position to know the situation of his Majesty; he alone could estimate the danger which he would cause France to incur if he refused to accept the Constitution. The King, tired of their importunities and his own position, alarmed as to that in which he might be placed, and, above all, fearing to bring about a civil war in France, determined to follow their advice and to accept the Constitution, the results of which were destined to be so disastrous to them and to himself.

At the expiration of the prescribed period, Duport du Tertre, Minister of Justice, brought to the Assembly a letter from his Majesty, in which he accepted the Constitution, adding that as he thought it more suitable that he should swear fidelity to it in the place where it was framed, he would present himself on the following day, the 14th of September, before the National Assembly. His Majesty's letter had been dictated by Thouret, Braumets, etc. Thouret, the President of the Assembly, under the pretext that the writing was difficult to read, requested permission to look over it before reading it aloud; he wanted to assure himself that no alteration had been made in it. His principal object was to diminish the declaration made by the King on leaving for Montmédy, and the letter was, consequently, as astute as the authors of it.

It began by a reminder that the conduct of his Majesty, ever since his accession to the throne, had

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been solely directed to secure the happiness of his subjects; that the hope of seeing this realised more speedily had determined him to sanction all the decrees of the Assembly even before their embodiment in the Constitution as a whole; that the hope of seeing the law resume its force in the hands of his newly-constituted authorities had sustained him for a long time; but that seeing, on the contrary, that anarchy was taking the place of power, and that licence was carried to extremes, he had been unwilling to accept a Constitution decreed under such circumstances, and had deemed it advisable to isolate himself from all parties, in order to ascertain the genuine wish of the nation; that having seen the Assembly since his return engaged in such useful work as the organisation of the army and the repression of the licence of the press, and being unable to doubt the attachment of the nation to the Monarchy, and its desire to see him accept the Constitution, he had decided, in obedience to considerations so pressing, to have it carried out by all the means that might be in his power; that he renounced all idea of the share which he had at first claimed in its formation; and that as he was only responsible to the nation, nobody could complain of his renunciation of this share.

He agreed at the end of his letter that there were several essential points to desire in the Constitution, but that in view of the existing differences of opinion, time alone could judge, and nobody would

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be able to reproach him with not having employed all the means in his power to bring it into operation, and to assist it in fulfilling the result that was expected from it.

The Right preserved the most absolute silence during this reading, which was interrupted by the applause of the Left of the Assembly.

On the proposition of M. de la Fayette, a decree was passed for the release of all persons imprisoned on the occasion of the journey of the King, and allowing free egress from the kingdom. The decree relating to the *emigrés* and the proceedings arising out of the Revolution was revoked. An amnesty was granted to those concerned in the Varennes journey, and it was rendered general, in order to include the assassins, robbers, and revolted soldiers, who all went to increase the horde of brigands whom the conspirators had in their pay. M. de Montmorin was, moreover, charged by the Assembly to interpose his good offices with the Swiss Cantons to obtain a pardon for the soldiers of Châteauvieux, condemned to the galleys by that nation.

A deputation of sixty members of the Assembly was sent to bear these decrees to the King, and to assure him of the rejoicing which his letter had caused to the Assembly. The reply of his Majesty was in the sense of his letter; and to complete the satisfaction of the deputies, the Queen presented herself at the door of the private room of the King, holding Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame by the hand,

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and assured them that she shared the sentiments of the King, and would impart them to her children.

The Assembly on the same day took into consideration the union of the Comtat of Avignon with France. It had resolved upon carrying it out for a long time, and it was proclaimed with the same carelessness as the other decrees. The union was agreed upon in accordance with the so-called wish of the Comtadins—a wish expressed under the pressure of the terror which had seized upon the majority of the signatories. The only sincere signatures were those of the brigands in harmony with the rebels of the Assembly.

The army under the orders of the latter, which called itself the brave army of the brigands of Vancluse, with Jourdan at its head, seconded by Antonelle and other miscreants, made the country tremble. The scenes of horror for which they were responsible, and which they threatened to renew, compelled forty thousand Avignonnais to emigrate, rather than expose themselves to their fury. It was such that the Abbé Mulot, despatched as a Commissioner of the Assembly to this unhappy district, wrote to say that the atrocities which had been committed were beyond the power of words to describe. This, however, did not prevent either him or Verninac and Lescène des Maisons, his colleagues, from aiding and abetting every manœuvre employed to secure a demand for the union, which was a source of distress to all those who did not share the opinions of these wretches.

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The Abbé Maury accused the Commission of an abuse of power; unmasked their conduct in regard to this unhappy district; and reproached them with the protection they extended to the brigands who laid it waste. The Assembly refused to listen to the proofs he adduced in support of his accusation, or to obtain information in respect to its correctness. The union was decreed, and the King was requested to enter into communication with the Court of Rome in respect to the indemnity and interest due to it.

The next question was the ceremonial to be observed on the occasion of the reception of the King. The Assembly decided that he should be saluted on his arrival, and that then every member should resume his seat; that there should be in front of the *bureau* two armchairs covered with cloth ornamented with *fleurs de lys*, exactly alike,—one for the King and the other for the President. M. Malouet having observed that but little respect would be shown to the King by such conduct, he was saluted with a shout of, "Go on your knees if you like."

The Right, in order to manifest its opposition to such a Constitution, withdrew before the arrival of the King, and afterwards made a protest, signed by all its members, against the violence done to the King, and the impossibility of his sacrificing any of the rights of the Crown, which had to be handed down to his successors as he had received it from his predecessors.

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As the amnesty decree had restored my liberty, I resumed my duties in connection with Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame, and I accompanied them on the following day to the Assembly. We went to a box prepared for the Queen, who was compelled, to her great regret, to be present at a sitting so painful to a Princess whose mind and heart were on a par with her rank. What transpired was not calculated to lessen her distress.

The King, upstanding and uncovered, pronounced the oath prescribed by the Assembly; but perceiving that he alone was standing, he seated himself by the side of Thouret, the President of the Assembly, and, after having gone through the formality of the oath, he expressed to him his ardent desire to secure, as the result of the step he had just taken, the return of peace and concord, and to look upon it as a pledge of the happiness of the people and the tranquillity of the empire.

Thouret, with his legs crossed and his arms resting on those of his arm-chair, in order to assume an air of complete freedom, replied to the King in a very insolent tone, eulogising the Assembly and its courage in the destruction of abuses. He then added that his desire was fulfilled to the utmost by the sight of the King crowning the most solemn of engagements by his acceptance of the constitutional royalty, which was bestowed upon him by the attachment of the French people, and guaranteed to him by the immortal Constitution and the need

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of the nation for a hereditary monarchy. He concluded his speech by assuring the King that this new regeneration would give a country to the French, a fresh title of grandeur and glory to himself as a king, and a fresh source of joy and happiness to him as a man.

It would have been difficult to have made sport of his royal Majesty in a more insolent or more indecent manner. The Queen suffered cruelly in having to listen to such a speech, and she left the Assembly with death in her soul, foreseeing only too clearly the misfortunes which might be expected from such dispositions.

The King, who still flattered himself that he should be able, under the shadow of the Constitution, and by dint of prudence and industry, to take advantage of every circumstance to eventually open the eyes of the nation to its real interests, declared to the Queen that he was going to do all in his power to secure the progress of the Constitution. He asked her and all about him to refrain from any reflections in regard to the proceedings which circumstances had just wrung from him; to abstain from anything opposed to the Constitution; and, in conformity with one of its clauses, to call Mgr. the Dauphin for the future the Prince Royal.

A *Te Deum* and public rejoicings were ordered, in token of gratitude for the acceptance of the Constitution. Games were arranged for the people in the streets and squares, with a distribution of

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food, and there was a general illumination throughout Paris. The illuminations in the Tuileries, the Place Louis XV., and the Champs Elysées were superb. The King and Queen were so pressed to go and see the latter that they could not refuse. They went there in a chariot with Mgr. the Dauphin, Madame, Madame Elizabeth, the Duke de Brissac, and myself. There were frequent shouts of "Long live the King!" but they lacked heartiness, and many voices shouted also, "Long live Fayette!" It is remarkable that there was an entire absence of gaiety among the crowd who flocked to enjoy the walk and the magnificent illumination of the Champs Elysées. "How sad it is," said the Queen to me, "that so beautiful a sight should only arouse in our hearts a feeling of sorrow and anxiety." She made an effort to speak to the men of the National Guard around the carriage, and to hide her melancholy. Neither did the young Prince, nor Madame either, take any pleasure in this drive, and they seemed to foresee the misfortunes they had to expect from such a Constitution.

The last acts of the Assembly were in no way more respectful to the King than its preceding conduct. It decreed the destruction of the royal seal bearing the inscription "The King and the Law," and the substitution of "The Nation, the Law, and the King." It abolished the royal notaries, and made them national, and it would have amalgamated the Suisses with the troops of the line if the previous

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consent of the Swiss cantons had not been necessary, a condition which made it necessary to refer the proposal to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, so as to give him time to make a convention with the Swiss.

They condemned those who in any deed mentioned the formerly existing but now suppressed titles, to pay the sixth of the land tax, declaring them in addition incapable of holding any civil or military post, and erased from the civic programme. There were punishments even for those who retained liveries, or crests, or coats-of-arms on their houses or their carriages. The notaries and civil officers who should receive such denominations, and should have lent their official position to the establishment of titles of nobility, were to be removed. Under similar penalties it became obligatory on those charged with the rights of registry to remit such acts to the Commissioners of the King in the tribunals, in order that the decreed penalty might be inscribed on them. In the anger which carried the Assembly away, M. Chabroud even demanded that the nobility who were found contravening this decree should be placed in the pillory for three hours; but this was looked upon as so ridiculous that it met with the contempt it deserved.

M. d'Estournel proposed that the Order of Saint Louis, the designation of which was altered to the Military Order, should be exempt from the oath of Catholicity, and should be open to Protestants as

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well as Catholics. It is hardly credible, but true, that this motion was carried without difficulty. The same fate did not await the remonstrances made by the relatives of the founders of religious houses, who claimed to enter into possession of property left in reversion, in case of destruction. They were rejected, under the pretext that the property, having been left with a view to public utility, should remain at the disposal of the nation, the right being reserved to legalise, and do justice to individual demands in accordance with the clauses of the act of foundation.

As the Assembly never thought of rendering any debtor and creditor account of the funds whose employment it had ordered, M. Malouet made a motion that it should render such an account before the end of the session, in order that positive information might be obtained as to the product of all the sums which had passed into its hands. M. Montesquiou replied that these accounts were in the hands of the Committee, and might be seen there. "We want proofs in support of them," replied M. Malouet. At these words the members of the Left were devoured with rage; they insulted him, interrupted him, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

The declaration subsequently made by this same M. Malouet, confirming his refusal to vote for a Constitution contrary in many instances not only to his commission, but also to the principles of order, liberty, and monarchical government, excited similar fury. The deputy Lavie, a regular fanatic, after

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having overwhelmed the Right with insults, concluded, in the excess of his rage, by calling them brigands and assassins, adding that care would be taken to recommend them to the tender mercies of the Provinces. All this was going on at the moment when M. de Lessart, the Minister of the Interior, was bringing to the Assembly a proclamation from the King, inviting it to cast aside all party spirit, and to substitute for it a spirit of peace and harmony.

Nevertheless, the influence of the Clubs began to render the Assembly uneasy. It forbade them to oppose any act emanating from constituted authorities; or to present petitions, or to form deputations to assist at public ceremonials; condemning all who contravened this order to be erased for six months from the civic roll, and to be declared incapable of exercising any public function. But the terror they inspired caused all action to be taken against them so mildly, that this weakness emboldened them to violate every law whenever their interest so required.

An usher who wanted to arrest Danton during the sitting of the Electoral Assembly, after having requested permission from M. Pastoret, the President, was sent to prison by order of the latter, he having been frightened into that course by the threats of Danton, who had great influence in the Cordeliers Club; and this failure of justice remained unpunished.

The Assembly at last brought its session to a close. The King closed it in person, and made a

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speech which breathed only love for his people, and his desire to see peace and concord replace the disturbances by which France was agitated. He promised to put in force all the means given him by the Constitution to ensure that it should be observed, and he entreated the deputies, on their return to their Provinces, to make use of their influence to see that the law was respected, by counselling submission to constituted authorities. He charged them, moreover, to assure their fellow-citizens that the King would always be the best friend of his people.

Thouret replied to his Majesty by an assurance of the attachment he had inspired in the people, thanks to his frank and thorough acceptance of the Constitution, adding that the energy of his sentiments could not but increase by the maintenance of the Constitution, which was a guarantee of royalty and liberty alike; that his acceptance had led to discouragement abroad and confidence at home; and that he could rely upon the care of the deputies to fulfil the wish expressed by his Majesty.

The King left the Assembly amid clapping of hands and shouts of "Long live the King!" accompanied by a simple deputation, who escorted him to the Castle. After he had left, Target read the minutes of the proceedings, and declared that as the mission of the Assembly was accomplished, its sittings were at an end.

Before leaving the hall it received once more the homage of the Municipality of Paris, with M. Bailly

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at its head, who congratulated it on the immortal work it had accomplished.

M. Pastoret, in the name of the Commune of Paris, surpassed himself in eulogy, lauding it for the advantage it had gained in having established the finest Constitution of the universe, and for having effaced the traces of despotism by that immortal declaration of the Rights of Man, which, by establishing equality, had brought into prominence this great truth—that all the strength of tyrants lay in the patience of their people. He then wished the Assembly to turn its serious attention to the question of the finances, the embarrassment of which might bring about the ruin of the Revolution.

On leaving the House, the galleries broke out into loud applause for Péthion and Robespierre, and hooted several of those who had hitherto been the objects of their admiration.

The choice of the deputies of the legislative Assembly could not hold out to the King any hope of reaping any fruit from so many sacrifices, or of procuring for France the repose that was so necessary for her. A large number of the most violent demagogues were elected, such as Brissot, Antonelle, the Abbé Mulot, Lacroix, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, Grangeneuve, the Abbé Fauchet, Esnard, Hérault de Séchelles, Le Quinço, Camille Desmoulins, Basire, Merlin, Chabot, Cerotti, Le Cointre de Versailles, Couthon, Andréis, Guiton de Morveau, Quinette, Cambon, Dubois de Crancé,

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Garaud de Coulon, Lacépède, Cuvillier, the author of the Brest insurrection, etc., etc. These men, wishing to enjoy in their turn the same advantages as their predecessors, announced their intention of reforming all that they still considered too aristocratic in the new Constitution. Less influenced by the misfortunes they might bring upon their country than by the hope of treading the path leading to honours and fortune, the majority of them betrayed a frenzied desire for liberty and equality, and aspired to establish a form of government which should so closely approach that of a Republic that royalty would not be able to maintain itself against their efforts to annihilate it.

The other deputies of the Assembly, such as Ramond, Vaublanc, Pastoret, etc., etc., who belonged to the Left of the previous Assembly, and became the Right of this one, did not share their sentiments, but they were not strong enough to withstand their attacks. Everything pointed to a fresh revolution, which would drag down with it the ruin of the Monarchy and the Constitution, and would establish a more popular Constitution, of which the Republic would be the base.

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